

*The Khūrshīd Jahān Numā of Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh al Husainī
Angrēzābādī.—By H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (Retired).*

(Read, December 1894.)

INTRODUCTION.

On the 20th May, 1889, Mr. Pargiter reported to our Society that a Muhammadan schoolmaster, in the district of Māldah, had written an historical work in Persian, and suggested that it should be examined in order to ascertain if it was worth publishing. In consequence of this, the author, whose name was Ilāhī Bakhsh, was invited to send his MS. for inspection; but the old man was so attached to his book, that he refused to let it out of his sight, and as he could not afford to come with it to Calcutta, nothing further was done at that time. Subsequently I visited Māldah, and had one or two interviews with the author. I found that the book was a History of the World from the days of Adam, and that in all probability it was not worth publishing in its entirety. I thought, however, that the account of Māldah, especially that of the ruins of Gauṛ and Paṇḍuā, might be valuable, and suggested to the author that he should extract this portion of his work, and submit it for examination. He accepted this proposal, and after some difficulty in finding an amanuensis, for Ilāhī Bakhsh was too old and feeble to make the extract himself, the portion of the work which related to Bengal was copied out and sent to me in England, in 1891. I had not then time or knowledge enough to examine the extract fully, and so I sent it out to Calcutta to our Society, with some remarks. There it was received and partially analysed by Maulvi Abdul Hak Abid, 2nd Master of the Calcutta Madrasah, and eventually it was at my request, returned to me this year. I have now read the whole of it, and proceed to give an analysis of it, and a translation of such portions as appear interesting.¹ I feel that the book has been left to

¹ I desire to acknowledge my obligations to M. 'Abdu-s-salām, M.A., Deputy Magistrate, for his kindness in correcting my translation and in explaining the Arabic inscriptions, &c.

me as a sort of legacy by the author, who died in 1892 not long after he sent it to me.

The extract forms a quarto volume of 498 pages. It contains not only a description of Māldah and its antiquities, but also a history of Bengal from the earliest times down to 1863. It also contains the preface to the whole work, and a chapter giving some account of the author. From this I take the following particulars:—

Memoir.

Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh was born in 1240 A.H., or 1824 A.D., at English Bāzār, in the district of Māldah.¹ The family came originally from the Upper Provinces, and members of it had held high office under the kings of Bengal. Eventually, on account of old age, or for some other reason, they retired to the town of Māldah, where they settled in a quarter known as the Bērōzgar Ṭōla, or quarter of the unemployed—apparently because it was chiefly occupied by persons out of employ. This quarter was in the neighbourhood of Mughal Ṭōlā, and the well-known mosque of Ma'sūm Saudāgar. Then the family moved into another old quarter of Māldah called Sanak Mahan,² and eventually they came to English Bazār. The author's grandfather, Mihru-llāh, is buried at Old Māldah; but he appears to have lived at English Bazār, and in the service of the English Government, for the author's father, 'Alī Bakhsh was born there, as was also the author. His birth-place, he tell us, was in the quarter known as Cak Sayyad Anbīa. He spent all his life in English Bazār, and died there on 2nd March, 1892.

In his latter days he was Persian teacher in the District School. Ilāhī Bakhsh was a man of great simplicity of mind, and an enthusiastic student of history: perhaps, he acquired this taste from his friend and teacher Munshi 'Abdu-l-karīm, who in his turn was the pupil of Ghulām Husain Salīm, the author of the Riyāzu-s-salātīn. Perhaps, too, he became interested in Gaur from the fact that he inherited from his paternal aunt, some rent-free land in Hazratnagar, otherwise Qāzīgāō, which is near the shrine of Makhdūm Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn. He also speaks at page 144, of visiting the tomb of an ancestor of his, named Mīr Karhān, who died at Māldah in 1199 A.H. (1784 A.D.).

I now proceed to give an account of his book.

Analysis.

Ilāhī Bakhsh entitled his book the *Khūrshīd Jahān Numā*, or the World-displaying Sun. The title is a chronogram, and yields the date 1270 A.H., or 1853 A.D., this being the time when the book was begun. He was occu-

¹ It is the head-quarters of the district and is often called Māldah, or New Māldah. Māldah, properly so called, is about five miles north of English Bazār, and is on the other, or eastern, side of the Mahānanda, opposite to its junction with the Kālindrī.

² Perhaps Shānk Mōhān.

plied with it, more or less, for the rest of his life; but he appears to have finished the history of Bengal in 1280 A.H., or 1863 A.D., for this is the date to which he has brought down his narration of events. Continuing the fancy of the title, he divided his book into twelve Būrj, or signs of the Zodiac. The first contained an account of the world, and the next five described America, Africa, Europe, Asia, Australia, and Polynesia, and the various races and religions of men. The 7th dealt with Prophets, the 8th with Philosophers, the 9th with Saints and Poets, the 10th with Teachers and Pupils, *i.e.*, I presume, Education, the 11th with Buildings, &c., and the 12th with an Account of the Author.

As usual, the work begins with praises of God and of Muḥammad. Then it proceeds to pronounce an eulogium on Munshi 'Abdu-l-karīm, the friend and instructor of the author. We are told that 'Abdu-l-karīm was originally an inhabitant of Bārḥ, in the district of Patna, that he came to Māldah and entered into the service of Ghulām Ḥusain, the author of the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, and who was at the time Dāk Munshī, or Postmaster, under Mr. George Udny. 'Abdu-l-karīm was for a time Bakhshī, or Assistant, to the Nāzir, or Sheriff, and afterwards became a Mukhtar. He appears to have been a good Persian scholar, and one or two inscriptions for mosques which he composed, have been quoted by Ilāhī Bakhsh.

In the portion of the *Khūrshīd Jahān Numā* with which we are concerned, the first date given is that of the Deluge. The author tells us that this took place 2971 years before the era of the Hijra, a computation which gives us the same date as that assigned by Christian writers, for $2971 - 622 = 2349$ B.C. The reason that he comes to mention this date is that he, in accord with the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, derives the name of Bengal from Bang, the son of Hind, and the word *āl* meaning an embankment. The latter part of this derivation is also that adopted by Abū-l-faḍl. According to Ghulām Ḥusain and Ilāhī Bakhsh, Bang was the second son of Hind, who was the eldest of the six sons of Ham, and consequently a grandson of Noah.

After this, the author proceeds to describe Bengal and the Bengalis, and to give an account of each district. Much of this part is taken from the *Riyāz* and the *Arāish-i-Maḥfil*, and except for the account of Māldah, is not worth printing. It may be noticed here that Ghulām Ḥusain was a native of Zaidpūr in Oude, and that neither he nor Ilāhī Bakhsh seem to have considered themselves to be Bengalis. Both are rather severe on the Bengali character and customs, but Ilāhī Bakhsh has considerably softened Ghulām Ḥusain's remarks. The account of Māldah begins at page 111. The following are the only novelties which I noticed in the account of the other districts.

In the account of Calcutta, we have a list of the mosques and copies of the inscriptions on them. None of them, however, is old, and it is unnecessary to print them. Then at page 20, we have a Persian verse containing a pun on the name of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth). *Shōr* means salt or brackish in Persian, and so we are told in allusion to the climate and water, and to the name of the Governor-General.

آب شور و زمین سراسر شور¹
شور فرمان روی کلکته

“The water is salt, and the land is altogether salt (*shōr*).
And salt (Shore) is the ruler of Calcutta.”

In the account of Murshidābād (page 44) the tomb of Shāh Martazī Anand, now washed away by the Bhāgīrathi, is noticed, and we are told the interesting fact, that the wife of this Muhammadan saint was a Brahman's daughter, and named Anandī. She and their son were buried beside him, and probably her name forms part of the word Mortousahanadi, which is given as a stage in the itinerary from Bengal to Lhassa, to be found in Tieffenthaler, Vol. III, p. 206. We are also told that the saint Shāh Martazī was a contemporary of Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī Fīrōzpūrī who was the spiritual guide of Sulṭān Shujā' and of whom the author gives a biography at page 204, in his account of Gauṛ. Shāh Ni'mat was a native of Karnaul, but died at Fīrōzpūr, a quarter of Gauṛ, in 1080 A.H., or 1669 A.D.

In the account of Cuttack, the dates of the erection of some buildings are given (pp. 47-49), but they are probably well known. Ilāhī Bakhsh also mentions, what I do not remember to have read elsewhere, that Kālā Pahār, the famous general of Sulaimān Kararānī, was a Brahman's son and became a Muhammadan owing to a princess of Gauṛ having fallen in love with him and having married him. That he was originally a Hindu appears probable from Mr. Blochmann's statement, that his real name was Rājū.²

The account of Māldah begins as I have stated, at page 111. This is the really valuable part of the book. The author had a great deal of local knowledge and he gives some inscriptions and many particulars which are not to be found in Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, or in Cunningham's Archæological Reports, or anywhere else, so far as I know. The praise which Major Stewart has bestowed on Ghulām Husain, viz., that he took considerable pains to ascertain the dates of the inscriptions on buildings, is still more deserved by Ilāhī Bakhsh. He must have worked very hard, and paid many visits to Gauṛ and Paṇḍuā, for he not only gives numerous inscriptions, but he also states the dimensions of the various buildings, and such traditions as he could collect about their origin, &c. No doubt it was some

¹ Ilāhī Bakhsh has given only two lines. Some other lines from the same poet (probably Ghālib), who wrote a skit on Calcutta Society, may be here quoted:—

پارۀ از زمیـن دوزخ بود * که بران شد بذای کلکته
خارش و داد و پدپش واسهال * این همه تحفه های کلکته
خانسامان و بوچهرو و قصاب * این همه شرفا های کلکته

(Translation).

Calcutta was built on a portion of the region of hell. The gifts of Calcutta are itch, ringworm, dysentery and diarrhoea, and its gentry consist of butlers and butchers.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. xlv., p. 303.

advantage to him to come after Ghulām Husain, but he had the greater advantage of being born and bred in Māldah, whereas Ghulām Husain seems only to have come there in the latter days of his life. Unfortunately for Ilāhī Bakhsh, many of the inscriptions which were unknown when he copied them, have been published in our *Journal* and in Ravenshaw's *Gaur, &c.*, owing to the labours of Mr. Blochmann, Dr. Wise, Mr. Westmacott, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Heeley, General Cunningham, and others. I have endeavoured to separate the new from the old, and have given those which have been already published only when there is some difference of reading, &c.

Ilāhī Bakhsh praises the climate of Māldah, which, he says, is the best in Bengal. It was made a Joint-Magistracy, he tells us, in 1228 A.H. (1813), and the first Magistrate was Mr. William Braddon. He gives many statistics, and notices the inscription by Mr. Thomas Henchman, at the cutcherries in English Bāzār, dated 1771. I do not think, however, that there is anything new till we come to page 129, where he tells us of a tomb in English Bāzār called Ghōrā Shāhīd. It is near the old silk factory known as the Barāh Khāna, and the people of Māldah worship and make offerings there. However, Munshī 'Abdu-l-karīm told the author that it was really the tomb of some (English ?) official of the Factory.

Noticing the Charitable Dispensary, the author observes that here used to be the house of Ghulām Husain. Near here in front of a mosque, was placed "some years ago," a stone containing the important inscription of Husain Shāh, dated 1st Ramzan 907 (10th March 1502), which records the building of a Madrasa. This is one of the inscriptions which Mr. Westmacott sent to Blochmann. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 303, and Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 80. Ilāhī Bakhsh gives the inscription, but it need not be republished. It is situated at a mosque near the Police Station, and in the quarter known as Fīrōzpūr Imlī ṭōlā. He also notices, page 133, an inscription set up in an Imāmbārah in Cak Anbīā, and bearing the date 913 (1507). This I believe to be a new inscription. It is as follows:—

بني هذا المسجد مجلس المجالس مجلس اخيار
في سنة ثلثة عشرة وتسعمائة من هجر النبوة

"The builder of this mosque was the Majlisu-l-majālis, the excellent Majlis, in the year of the Flight 913."

It was in this quarter that the author was born. In the quarter known as Cak Qarbān Alī is the tomb of Ghulām Husain, author of the *Riyāzu-s-salātīn*, who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817. The chronogram, composed by 'Abdu-l-karīm is (1233) منشي ز عالم رفته. "The Munshi left the world."

At page 137 the places of interest near English Bāzār are noticed. The first is Ghaishpūr, about two miles north north-west of the cutcherries. It is the residence of a family of Gosains, who came from Khurdhā in Orissa. The author gives a genealogical tree of the family and speaks of one Āhil Bihārī as a distinguished member of it.

At page 138, Nīma Sarāī and its tower or minaret are noticed, and then the town of Māldah is described. At page 130, there is a description of

Ma'şūm Saudāgar's mosque, in Mughal-ṭolā. The inscription with the date 974 (1566) is mentioned, but it is to be found in Ravenshaw, page 144. A shrine called Shāh Gadā is mentioned, where there is an inscription, dated 911 (1505) which has been removed from some mosque. This inscription is given in *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 294, No. 27.

At page 140 the Kaṭrah is noticed, and the author follows the author of the Riyāz in considering this to be the Sarai of the Emperor Fīrōz Shāh. He encamped at Māldah in 754 (1353) when he came to make war on Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, and so the quarter is called Fīrōzpūr to this day (See the Riyāz, page 96).

Phūṭī Masjid. This is the mosque called in Ravenshaw, page 44, the Fauti or Burial mosque. The real name, however, appears to be Phūṭī, *i.e.*, the cracked or broken mosque. The inscription on it is given in Ravenshaw, page 780, or *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, p. 302, but Ilāhī Bakhsh reads it somewhat differently from Mr. Blochmann. According to the former, the name of the builder is the Khān Ma'zam Alagh Shēr Dil Khān, and the date is 20th Shawwāl 900 (14th July, 1495). Near it is a tomb, which is probably that of the builder.

Sir Barī or Cut-head. This is a shrine north of the Kaṭrah, and west of the high road. People call it the shrine of the Pīr of Māldah and give the name of Māldah specially to this place. Some say it is the shrine of a martyr, and some say that when Ḥaẓrat Ānwar, the son of Nūr Quṭb, was put to death at Sōnārgāō by order of Rajah Kans (Ganesh), his head arrived at this place.

Mahalla Shānk Mōhān. In this quarter and west of the high road, there is a mosque built by Shaikh Faqīr Muḥammad and his son Shaikh Bhīkah. Over the door is an inscription, which must have formerly belonged to a mosque built in 876 (1471), in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. This inscription is given in *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, p. 298, and is referred to by Cunningham in his Archæological Report, XV, p. 78. But when Mr. Westmacott visited the place, it was impossible to obtain a clear reading. He thought the date to be 870. General Cunningham inclines to read it as 878.

Ilāhī Bakhsh's copy was made at an earlier date, and when the inscription was in better order. His reading is as follows:—

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بني الله له قصرًا في الجنة
مثله بني في امر السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابي المظفر يوسف شاه بن بارك شاه
بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته (some words are illegible). في التاريخ
غرة جمادى الاولى سنة سبعين و ثمانمائة *

The Prophet of God (Blessing and peace be upon him) has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for God, God similarly builds a palace for him in Paradise.' Under order of the sovereign who is sun of the world and of religion, Abū-l-muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh son of Bārbak Shāh son of Maḥmūd Shāh (may God preserve his empire) this mosque was built on 1st Jamādī-l-awwal, 870 A.H.

The inscription is an important one, for according to the usual chronology Yūsuf did not succeed his father Bārbak till 879. Ilāhī Bak^hsh remarks that his date of 876¹ disagrees with the chronology of Yūsuf's reign. Blochmann suggests that Yūsuf built it when he was prince.

The author now proceeds to Paṇḍuā. This is an important part of his book. His account of the two shrines there—that of Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī, The Twenty-two Thousand, and that of Nūr Quṭb, or the Six Thousand, is very full, and has some interesting features. I have, therefore, translated nearly the whole of it.

Paṇḍuā was a large city in old times, and is situated twelve miles north of Angrēzābād (English Bāzār). It used to be well peopled, and from the beginning of the reign of Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās Shāh to the end of the reign of Rajah Kans six kings ruled there for the period of fifty-two years.² In 795 A.H. (1392) Jalālu-d-dīn, the son of Rajah Kans, removed the seat of sovereignty to Gauṛ. It appears that in his father's time many idol-temples were erected, and that these fell into decay on Jalālu-d-dīn's³ accession. Yet the city was still populous during his reign. Now it is full of jungle and the abode of wild animals. All that is left are the houses occupied by the keepers of the shrines of the saints Shāh Jalāl of Tabrīz and Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam. The climate too of the city is now very bad. Although there are remains of many old buildings in the jungle, the following are the most important and those which are in a state of preservation.

I.

The buildings of the Barī Dargāh or Great Shrine.

These consist of the Arb'a'in Khāna⁴ or Quadragesimal House and other buildings of Ḥaẓrat⁵ Shāh Jalāl Tabrīzī. The original shrine

¹ Though the copy of the inscription gives 870, the author states the date to be 876.

² From 743-795, but the author might perhaps have included 'Alī Mubārak, the predecessor of Shamsu-d-dīn, and who reigned according to one account for a year and five months, and according to another for five years. His reign is supposed to have begun in 741 (1340) and from the tenor of Ghulām Ḥusain's narrative, *viz.*, the story about the building of the shrine of Jalālu-d-dīn, and the statement that Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās arrived at Paṇḍuā, it would appear that 'Alī Mubārak had his capital at Paṇḍuā. Mr. Blochmann also calls Paṇḍuā 'Alī Shāh's capital, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 254.

³ Jalālu-d-dīn received this name from Nūr Quṭb, his original name having been Jadu. Probably he was called Jalālu-d-dīn in allusion to the saint. It is interesting to find that there is a village in Māldah near Bhōlānāth, called Jādunagar. See *M. S.*, p. 181.

⁴ Arb'a'in Khāna and Makān Arb'a'in are synonyms for Cillakhāna and mean the house or cell occupied by Muhammadan saints during their Lent.

⁵ I suspect that Paṇḍuā is called Ḥaẓrat on account of the saints and not of the Sultans.

was erected by Sultān 'Alī Mubārak at the instance of the saint in 742 A.H. (1341), and is now so destroyed that no trace of it remains.¹ Some of the existing buildings were put up by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī of Fīrōzpūr (in Gauṛ), and some by other persons. The list is as follows:—

I.—The large Arba'in Khāna. This quadragesimal cell of the saint is a spacious building, facing the east, and was erected by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh Matwalī, in 1075 A.H. (1664). This date is engraved on the east of the building, at the left hand side in the following chronogram:²—

چون این عالی عمارت یافت ترتیب
شده تاریخ روشن است—ان باد

When this grand building was completed, the date was — .
“Bright be the Shrine.”

And in another place it is written.³

این عمارت حضرت شاه جلال است
راست کرد حضرت شاه نعمت الله

“This is the building of the holy Shāh Jalāl. The holy Shāh Ni'matu-llāh repaired it.”

The silver water vessels, which the Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulā presented, still exist in the Arba'in Khāna. Mr. U. C. Batabyā linforms me that the gift was really a Kāṭrā or silver railing, and that it has disappeared.

II.—The Lakkhan Sēnī Dalān. This building was also erected by Shāh Ni'matu-llāh. It is on the edge of the tank inside the Baṛī Dargāh. There is an inscription on a stone on the west wall of this building which runs as follows.

استانۀ معظم حضرت مخدوم شاه جلال تدبیر - از سید شاه نعمت الله مرتب
شده - چون جنوب رویه استقامت پشته نداشته بنابر بتولیت قبولیت * هیدت الله
عمارت عظمی قدری جنبش کرده بود - محمد علی ساکن برجیه متصدی گری قرار
یافته - در استقامت (?) رام رام پسر بیکل راج را مقرر نموده بتاریخ ۲۲ رجب المرجب
سنه ۱۱۳۴ هجری مطابق سنه ۱۱۱۹ بنگله مرتب در آمد *

¹ Ghulam Husain, writing in 1786, speaks of there still being traces of the building (text, page 95).

² The inscription is in Ravenshaw, page 45. But I give it, because the word shrine is there translated “Mausoleum.” This gives a wrong impression, for the inscription says nothing about a tomb, and in fact Jalālu-d-dīn is not buried in Paṇḍuā.

³ This is not in Ravenshaw, &c.

The shrine of Shāh Jalāl Tabrīz was built by Sayyad Shāh Ni‘matu-llāh. As the south-side wall of it was not strong, so during the time when Haibatu-llāh was Mutwalli, the building was shaken considerably. Muḥammad ‘Alī, of Barjī, being appointed manager, he set Rām Rām son of Bīkal Rāj (this is not quite legible) to repair it. On the 22nd Rajab: 1134 A.H., corresponding to 1119 Bengali, the shrine was re-built.

It would be interesting to know how the building came to be known as the house of Lakkhan Sēn, *i.e.*, Lakṣmaṇa Sēna.

III.—The Bhāṇḍār Khāna or Storehouse. This is a building facing the south, and was erected by Cānd Khān in 1084 (1673). The inscription is as follows (See Ravenshaw’s Gaur, page 45).

IV.—The Tanūr Khāna, or House of the Oven. There is an oven in this house, which the saint is said to have put on his head and broiled meat in for his teacher. God knows if this is true. On the south side of one of the buildings there is an inscription recording that it was built by Sa‘du-llāh in 1093 (1682). The inscription is as follows (not reproduced as it is in Ravenshaw, pages 45 and 46).

SOME ACCOUNT OF ḤAZRAT JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

He was born at Tabrīz in Persia, and was a pupil of Shaikh Abū Sayyad of that city. After his teacher’s death, he became the servant of Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn Suhrawardī, and performed offices for him such as no other saint’s pupil ever did. It is said that Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn used to make the pilgrimage to Mecca every year, but that, being old and feeble, he could not digest the food that was provided for the journey. So Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn put a dēghdānī (a stove¹) on his head and a pot in that, and always kept the stove alight, so that, whenever the Shaikh called for food, he could give him a hot meal. Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn was on friendly terms with Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn and Shaikh Bāhāu-d-dīn Zakaryā and came to Delhi in the time of the Khwāja. Shaikh Najamu-d-dīn Saghrī Shaikhu-l-islām, whose tomb is beside that of Barhānu-d-dīn of Balkh, was on bad terms with Jalālu-d-dīn, and brought an odious charge against him, and so troubled him, that he had to leave Delhi and go to Bengal.² When he came there he sat down by some water and then got up and performed his ablutions, and

¹ The utensil is still at Paṇḍuā, but is covered over with clay, and the original metal (copper) is not discernable,

² Abū-l-faḍl says that Jalālu-d-dīn was saved from the charge by the damangīrī of Bāhāu-d-dīn Zakaryā. This phrase probably only means support or assistance. See the story at length in the Siyaru-l-Ārifīn of Ḥamīd commonly called Darvīsh Jamāh. Bāhāu-d-dīn made the woman confess that she had been suborned by Najamu-d-dīn, and that Jalālu-d-dīn was purer than the water of life.

said to those about him that he was saying prayers for the Shaikhu-l-islām as he had just died. And so it turned out. After prayers he said to those present: As the Shaikhu-l-islām sent me out of Delhi, so has my Shaikh Mulla-bhai sent him out of the world.¹

The saint acquired property in Bengal and bequeathed it to faqirs and the poor. So the property is under the control of the shrine, and is known as the 'Twenty-two Thousand.' The Fātiha of the saint has from of old been held in the month of Rajab, and faqirs of all sorts, and many laymen assemble from the beginning to the 22nd of the month. And on the day of the Fātiha, *i.e.*, the 22nd, 22 cattle, 22 sheep, 22 maunds of rice, and other things in the same proportion are expended. And besides this, food is distributed to travellers throughout the year. The relics of the saint, *viz.*, his oven and a book in Nāgarī² characters, containing an account of his acts are preserved to the present day in the endowment. His tomb is in the port of Deo Maḥāl in Bengal. His death occurred in 738 A.H. (1337). The date is expressed in the words—

جلال الدين جلال الله جلال عارفان بود

“Jalālu-d-dīn was the glory (*jalāl*) of God, and the glory of saints.”³

But some people say that this is the date when he went away from Paṇḍuā, and did not come back again.

THE CHOṬĪ DARGĀH.

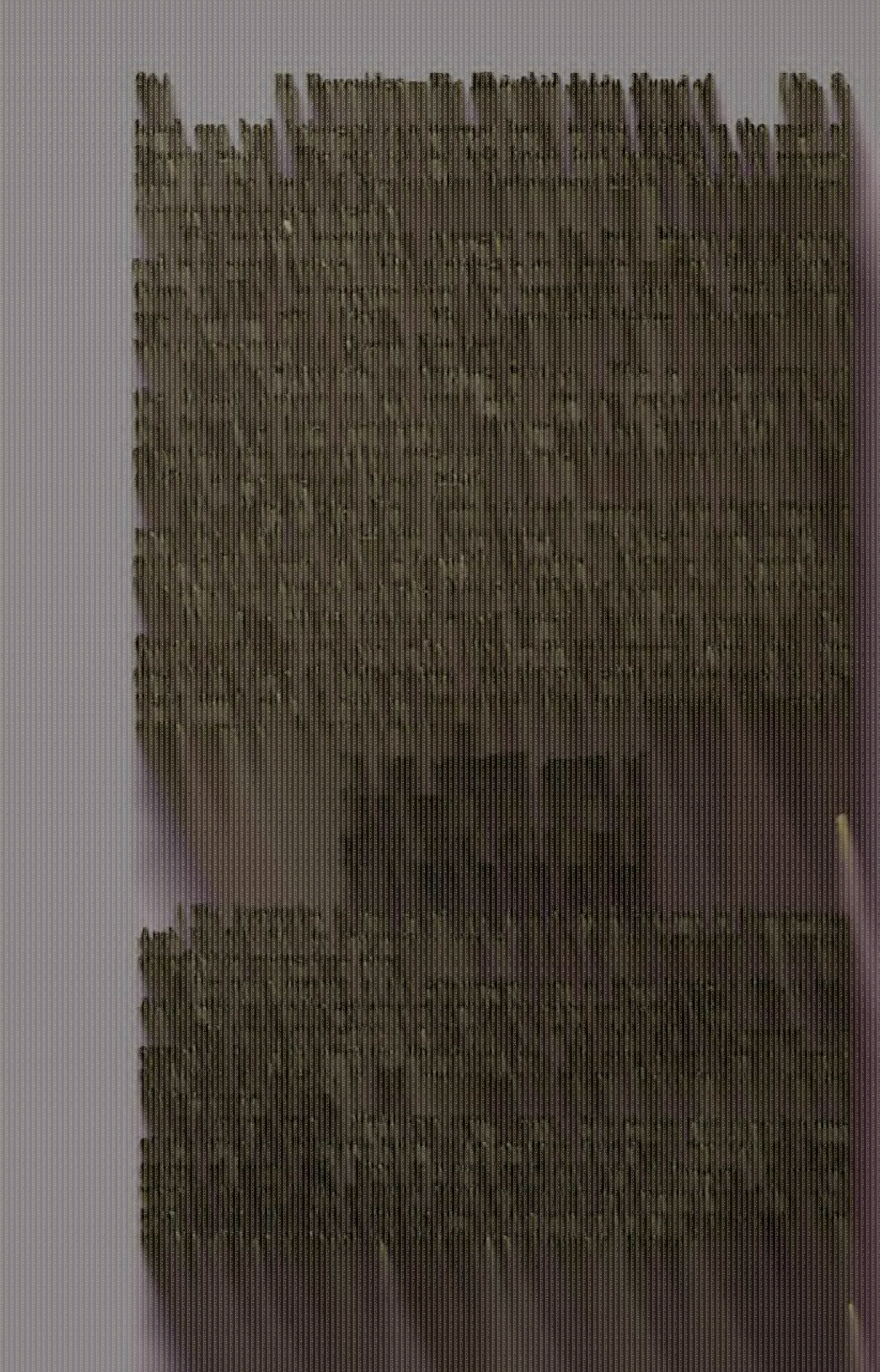
“The shrine of Ḥazrat Nūr Qutb is north-west of the Barī Dargāh and less than half-a-mile from it. Here the saint and many other holy men are laid at rest. His family too is buried here, their graves being west and north of his, and though they have been injured by time, the gate-way and the well still exist.

The Makān Arb‘aīn or Cillakhāna. This is close to his tomb and on the west side of it. Although this building is old, the roof, &c., are new. On the east side there are three doors, and over each there is an inscription, which formerly belonged to some other building. The right

¹ According to the Siyaru-l-Ārifīn of Jarālī Kāmbū, this instance of second sight took place at Badaon. The same author mentions that Sultan Altamsh deposed Najamu-d-dīn when the falsehood of his charge was discovered, and appointed Bāhāu-d-dīn in his room.

² Mr. Batabyal informs me that the book is not in Nāgarī characters. It is Sanskrit, and is said to have been written by Hālāyudha the minister of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna. It ought to be published.

³ The letters appear to me to yield the date 737 and not 738. This chronogram has not, I believe, been published before.



Cānd, the son of Daryā Khān who was a subordinate of the King built a moon-like mosque. Genius whispered for the date, ' Say publicly Makān Ma'zam Jāh, (1170=1756).¹

I have heard that Cānd Khān and his father Daryā Khān held high offices, in Bengal, in the reign of Aurangzēb, and I also heard that Cānd Khān had come to Paṇḍuā on behalf of the Nāẓim of Dacca. Besides the Bhāṇḍār Khāna connected with the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Jalāl Tabrīzī at Paṇḍuā, Cānd Khān built a mosque there in 1170 A.H., as is evident from the former inscription. At present this mosque has been destroyed. It is also probable that it is his father Daryā Khān is the same whose tomb is in the jungle east of Shāhpūr and who wrote the book called Kitāb Sarīrī. 'The Book of the Thrones.' (See p. 178 of MS., where the author describes the grave as a large tomb made of Sangmaḥak, *i.e.*, touchstone or black basalt, and says that the Kitāb Sarīrī is a translation of the Simhāsan Battīsī, or 32 Tales of a Throne).²

V.—The Copper Drums. In the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Nūr Quṭb there are two large copper drums which apparently were presented by Nawāb Qāṣim Khān Nāẓim of Bengal, as his name appears on their edge.

It appears that one of the descendants of Nūr Quṭb, was Sharīf Sarīfu-d-dīn, the son of Nizāmu-d-din, and that some Sultan, probably Ḥusain Shāh, presented him with 47 villages rent-free for the support of the endowment. In course of time the documents became decayed and were shown by Shaikh Kabīr, the Superintendent for the time being, to Sultān Shujā'. The latter made a fresh grant to Shaikh Kabīr, dated 25th Sha'bān in the 22nd year of the reign (of Shāh Jahān) corresponding to 1058 (1648). This grant with Sultān Shujā's signature on it is still in the possession of the descendants of Nūr Quṭb. The older one has disappeared."

Ilāhī Bakḥsh then gives details about Alāu-l-ḥāqq, the father of Nūr Quṭb, and about the saint himself. These seem to be taken from books, and not from local traditions, and contain little of importance in addition to the biographies given by Mr. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 261 and 262. However, I subjoin his account of Alāu-l-ḥāqq.

¹ The inscription is not given in Ravenshaw, &c. The date must be wrong, if Cānd Khān belonged to Aurangzēb's reign, and Ilāhī Bakḥsh seems to have forgotten that the date of the Bhāṇḍār Khāna in the Barī Dargāh is 1084 or nearly a hundred years earlier. Perhaps the chronogram should only begin with Ma'zam. If so, the date would be 1059 (1649).

² Daryā Khān's translation is in our Library. See Catalogue of Persian MSS. p. 34, No. $\frac{D}{214}$ of Fasciculus I. It does not contain any notice of the author. The date given in the preface is 1084 (1674).

SHAikh ALĀU-L-ḤAQQ WA AD-DĪN.

He was the son of Asa'd of Lahore, father of Nūr Quṭb, and the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn Uṣmān, otherwise Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn. He belonged to the wealthy and powerful classes, and they say that when Shaikh Ākhī Sirāj obtained the khalīfat (successorship) from Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā and departed for Bengal, he represented that a man of knowledge and rank lived there, and asked how he should manage with him. Nizāmu-d-dīn replied, "Do not be anxious, he will be your servant, (Khādīm)." And so it turned out. They say that Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn used to be carried about¹ the country, and that cooked food used to be taken along with him, and that his servants would put a hot pot on Shaikh Alāu-l-ḥaqq's head, so that his hair got all burnt off. And he had to pass in this guise before the houses of his relations who were kings' ministers.

Shaikh Alāu-l-ḥaqq spent much. The king of the country was jealous, and said "my treasury is in the hands of the Shaikh's father, he gives to the Shaikh." So he ordered that the Shaikh be turned out of the city, and sent to Sōnārgāō. He was there for two years, but told his servant² (Khādīm) to spend every day twice as much as before. He did so, and so the Shaikh spent very much, and yet no source of income was apparent. He had two gardens from his ancestors, of which the income was 8,000 *tankhas*, but some one seized them, and he made no remonstrance. He made presents without end, and used to say "I don't spend a tenth part of what my Makhdūm (Shaikh Ākhī otherwise Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn) possesses."³

He died in 800 (1398), but in a book in the possession of the

¹ The word is *suwārī*, and may mean horseback, or a litter.

² I presume that this was an instruction to the servants left behind at Paṇḍuā.

³ I am not sure, if I have translated this sentence correctly. According to Ferishta, l. c, II., p 748, three lines from foot, it was Naṣīru-d-dīn Audhī, commonly known as the Lamp of Delhi, who comforted Shaikh Ākhī. Ferishta says that, though Shaikh Ākhī was deputed to Bengal by Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, he returned to Delhi after Nizāmu-d-dīn's death, and received his investiture and the khalīfat of Bengal from Naṣīru-d-dīn. Shaikh Ākhī, whom Ferishta calls Shaikh Ākhī Sirāj Parwāna, represented to Naṣīru-d-dīn his difficulty about Alāu-l-ḥaqq, and Naṣīru-d-dīn said to him in Hindi "*Tum upar, wē tal, i. e., you are superior, he is inferior.*" And then Ferishta tells how, when Shaikh Ākhī returned to Bengal, Alāu-l-ḥaqq at first treated him with disdain, but afterwards repented and humbled himself. It may be worth noting that Naṣīru-d-dīn and Shaikh Ākhī were fellow-countrymen, both coming from Oudh.

The date 800 is given as that of Alāu-l-ḥaqq's death in the *Riyāzu-l-auliyā* of Bakhtāwar Khān, Brit. Mus. Catalogue, &c. 1745, p. 975.

Khādim of the shrine, I saw that his death was on 25 Rajab 786 (1384), and that the chronogram was

علاء الحق بحق واصل شد

Alāu-l-ḥaqq, has attained God!

His Fātiḥa also is celebrated on 25 Rajab.

In the account of Nūr Quṭb we are told that the saint in obedience to his father's wishes used to draw water from the tank, and that at the present day the faqirs and others carry pots of water from the Miṭhā Talāo on his Fātiḥa, which is on the Shab-i-Barāt. This custom is known by the name of Pan-bharī = "Pāni-bharī, i.e., water-carrying."

He also quotes from some letters written by Nūr Quṭb. These are I suppose, the letters to which Abū-l-faḥl refers in his memoir of the saint (*Āin*, Jarrett's translation III, 371.)

Chronologists have differed as to the date of the saint's death. Some say he died in 808, and some say, in 848, and some say, in 813. and some say, in 851. The chronogram for the last is Shamsu-l-hidāyat.¹ In the book of the custodian of the shrine, it is written that he died on the 9th Zū-l-qa'da 818 (1415) and the chronogram is

نور بنور شد

"Light went to Light."²

But the author saw a small stone over the door of the kitchen in Nūr Quṭb's shrine with an inscription which probably relates to the death of the saint, and may have fallen down from his tomb and been placed where it now is.

The author then gives the inscription which is to be found in Ravenshaw, pp. 52 and 72, in Cunningham l. c., 33, and in *J. A. S. B.*, 271. But he gives the date as 18th Zū-l-ḥijja 833, instead of 28th Zū-l-ḥijja 863, as given by Blochmann. Ilāhī Bakhsh, however, must be wrong, for the king, Naṣīru-d-dīn Ābū-l-muḥaffar Muḥammad Shāh, whose name is mentioned in the inscription, did not begin to reign till 845. 863 is, I think, an impossible date for the death of a man who was a contemporary and fellow-student³ of

¹ "Sun of Guidance." This is the chronogram accepted by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 262. Ravenshaw gives yet another date, viz., 828.

² It is interesting to find that in the *Riyāzu-l-auliyā* of Bakhtāwar Khān, which was written in 1019 A.H., or 1679, the date of Nūr Quṭb's death is given as 818, and the day of the month is apparently 19th Zū-l-qa'da (p. 175). As Abū-l-faḥl seems to have copied his accounts of the saint from the *Riyāzu-l-auliya*, his 808 is probably a clerical error for 818. This last I look upon as the true date.

³ Ilāhī Bakhsh says they were both pupils of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Ganj nishīn Nāgōrī. Abū-l-faḥl, *Ain* III, 367 (Jarrett's translation), mentions two Ḥamīdu-d-dīns of Nāgōr, but both belong to the 7th century A.H. Ferishta mentions that Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Kākī died in 634 (1236) with his head on Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Nāgōrī's knees.

Sultān Ghayāṣu-d-dīn and whose father died (after the son was grown up) in 786, or at latest in 800. 833 and 851 are also, I think, too late, especially as Nūr Qutb's brother A'zam Khān is said to have been the Wazīr of Muḥammad Tughluk who died in 752.¹ There is, however, a way of explaining the inscription which is compatible with chronology, and with the suggestion that it belongs to Nūr Qutb's tomb. This is to take the date 863, as referring to the erection of the tomb by Laṭīf Khān, and not to that of the death of the saint. This is how Sir Alexander Cunningham, l. c., p. 85, has understood it, though he seems to have overlooked the fact that Blochmann's translation, which he has accepted, makes 863 the date of the death. Apparently it is only a question of punctuation. A little alteration in this will make the date refer to the erection of the tomb, and this is perhaps which we should naturally expect to be the case. For the object of the inscription seems to be to moralise on the inevitableness of death. This is enforced by the fact that the Sun of the Faith, &c., also tasted death. Possibly this Sun of the Faith, &c., may be Nūr Qutb, though one might have looked for a clearer reference to his name or title, *viz.*, the Pole Star. It may mean the Prophet Muḥammad.

Ilāhī Bakḥsh mentions that on one of the pillars of Nūr Qutb's tomb, on the right hand side, there is an inscription which says that the pillars were presented by Pīrzād Khān in the year 1000 (1592). I do not find that this inscription has been published anywhere, though Cunningham says² that the fifth pillar at the head of the sarcophagus has a Persian inscription. The poetry is illegible.

Ilāhī Bakḥsh then proceeds to give notices of Shaikh Rāfaqu-d-dīn and Shaikh Anwar, the eldest and younger sons of Nūr Qutb.

Rāfaqu-d-dīn was celebrated for his humility, and used to say that he was of less account than a market-dog. His tomb is beside his father's. Shaikh Ānwar is said to have died a martyr at Sōnārgāō at the hands of Rajah Kans. He was famous for his generosity and used to have sheep fattened and killed for the faqīrs, though he did not touch the meat himself. His tomb is near his father and brother.

The author has already referred to him in his account of the place in Māldah called Sir Barī.

Between the tombs of the two sons, there are two graves which the custodians say are those of two brothers, who were devoted servants of Nūr Qutb. One was called Ma'īnu-l-islām and the other Āīnu-l-islām. It appears from the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn (110) that a Shaikh Ma'īnu-l-islām Ābas was the father of Badaru-l-islām. Perhaps this is his tomb.

Shaikh Zāhid was the son of Rāfaqu-d-dīn and grandson of Nūr Qutb. He had ten sons. His death was 17th Rabī'u-l-awwal 860 (1455). The chronogram is (860) حُب دُنْيَا چِيزِے نَدَاشْت

¹ See Blochmann, l. c. He admits the difficulty caused by this circumstance.

² I, l. c., 83.

“He regarded the world as of no account.”

His tomb is beside his father's on the south side, and his prayer-stone lies just to the west. Shaikh A'zam Shāh commonly known as Khān A'zam, was the elder brother of Nūr Quṭb, and was a King's Vizier. As'ad of Lahore was the father of Alāu-l-ḥaqq and grandfather of Nūr Quṭb. He was a King's Treasurer. Ādam Saudāgar was the father-in-law (?) of Nūr Quṭb. His grave is near Alāu-l-ḥaqq's on the south side, and near it lies the inscription of Ādam Saudāgar. The tomb of Shāh Ikrām is outside of the enclosure of Nūr Quṭb's tomb and on the east side. It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long and a little less than 5 cubits broad. When I asked who he was, one of the custodians said that he was a superintendant of the endowment. Near the tomb of Alāu-l-ḥaqq are the tombs of his wife and daughter, and of his wife's sister.

The genealogical tree of Nūr Quṭb is as follows:—

It is not of sufficient importance to be published. The author mentions that descendants of Nūr Quṭb are still living in the village of Eklakkhī, in the district of Burdwan. I do not know if this name is a reminiscence of the Eklakkhī mosque.¹

The author notices the tomb of a child, the son of a prince of Subzawār in Khurāsan named 'Ināyatu-llāh. He gives the inscription, but it is in Ravenshaw, p. 53. The child died on 1st Ramzān 1017 (1608). The people call it the tomb of the Kālā Pīr. The tomb is of black basalt, and near Alāu-l-ḥaqq. Here too is the tomb of Shēr Khān, a soldier in the service of the prince of Subzawār. The inscription is “Shēr Khān, son of Jōhar Khān.”

THE QUṬB SHĀHĪ MOSQUE.

“This is near the shrine and lies north-east of it, in the jungle. It is built entirely of stone. The roof has fallen in, but the walls, &c., and pulpit are standing. Its length from north to south is 50 cubits and breadth 28 cubits, and it has ten cupolas. From the inscription it appears that it was begun by Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muḥammadu-l-khālidī, in 990 (1582), and was finished in four years. It also appears that Makhdūm was a descendant of Nūr Quṭb.

The following inscription in Tughra characters is in two lines over the doorway.”

Sir Alexander Cunningham observes, l. 87. “There are three inscriptions belonging to this mosque, and that they are all *in situ*. Imperfect copies of the first and last have been given by Ravenshaw, who does not, however, notice the pulpit.”

¹ The property of the Twenty-two Thousand endowment is in the Burdwan district, and perhaps Nūr Quṭb's is there also.

As Ilāhī Bakhsh has given all three, they are now printed from his MS.

بر بالاي دروازه

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً في الدنيا بني الله له سبعين
قصرًا في الجنة بني هذا المسجد شيخ المعظم والمكرم مخدوم شيخ بن محمد بن الخالدي
صاحب مقام مقام قطب الاقطاب راس الاصواب قطب عالم خادم شيخ نور مد الله
ظله وامتنع له الله آثاره - المسمي هذا المسجد قطب شاهي - وتاريخه - مخدوم
عبد - راجي *

(Over the doorway.)

The Prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) has said, whoever in this world has erected a mosque for God, God will build for him in Paradise seventy palaces. This mosque was built by Makhdūm Shaikh, son of Muḥammadu-l-khalidī, who was of saintly virtue, leader of the pious, and servant of Shaikh Nūr (May his shadow continue). This mosque is called the Qutb Shāhī mosque and its date is Makhdūm 'Abaid Rājī (990 A.H.) = Makhdūm who is the humble servant, hopeful of God's mercy.

و این قطعه بر سر منبر مرقوم

قطعه

بین نیک این مرغ دایم بصحرا و محتاج * مگر سازد بمنقار نسیم دین منظر -
رسیدش کز کرم چون مستجابات این تاریخ * بآمد مسجد بنیان خورچ بر زیب از مخدوم¹
سنه ۹۹۳

(In front of the pulpit.)

See well this bird always a-field and in want; perhaps it adds melody with its throat (*lit.* beak) to the breeze of faith. This date was fixed by liberality accepted for it. بآمد مسجد بنیان خورچ بر زیب از مخدوم 993 A. H.

هذا باب المسجد الذي بني الفقير الحقير مخدوم شيخ بن محمد بن الخالدي -
عالي مقام سماء شمس الشريعة قمر كان الحقيقة هادي راه مرادة مخدوم المعظم
مخدوم قطب عالم تلالى الله بمضجعه - تاريخه اتمت باب مسجد - سنه ۹۹۳ -

The gate of this mosque was built by the faqīr Makhdūm Shaikh son of Muḥammadu-l-khalidī, who was a saint of high rank, sun of religion, and the moon of truth, shower of the way to hopes (May God illuminate his grave). Date 993 A.H.¹

¹ The words are illegible, and their meaning more or less unintelligible. As given above, they do not yield the date 993. Perhaps the words should read in the second line of the second couplet بائید مسجد بنیان زیب ز مخدوم, which yield 993.

THE EKLAKKHĪ MOSQUE.

“This is a brick building and has one lofty dome. Its length from north to south is 50 cubits and its breadth 46 cubits, the height of the wall is 17 cubits, and of the dome 27 cubits. There are four small doors on each side of the building, and at the top of the south door there is a small idol of stone, the face, &c., of which has been broken. There is no writing. It appears from this that the lintel must have belonged to some idol-temple. There are three graves inside and the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn says that one tomb is that of Jalālu-d-dīn, the son of Rajah Kans, and that the other two belong to his wife and son. This mosque is north-east of the Quṭb Shāhi mosque, and by the side of the high road. I imagine that the western tomb, which is the highest, is that of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn, that the one to the east is that of his son Sultān Aḥmad Shāh, and that the middle one is the tomb of his wife.”

THE ĀDĪNA MOSQUE.

The author describes this mosque at some length, but I do not think that his measurements, &c., need be given after the elaborate descriptions by Ravenshaw and Cunningham, and in Vol. VII of the Historical Account of Bengal. He notices a masonry tomb near the pulpit, at the fourth dome and close to the well, which the Paṇḍuā people say, is that of a faqīr who lived in the mosque long ago.

He also describes the tomb¹ of Sikandar Shāh, the builder of the mosque, and observes that the tomb proper, or sarcophagus, which is inside of a square chamber, is 9 cubits long from north to south, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad.

Ancient men of Māldah and Paṇḍuā say that Sikandar Shāh was of lofty stature, and that he measured four cubits according to the measurement of his own arm. Certainly they call him Iskandar Chōṭā.² It is worth observing that in front of the *chaukaṭh* (lintel) of the Adina mosque, there was a broken and polished idol, and that under the steps, near the pulpit, there was another broken idol, and that there were other idols lying about. So it appears that, in fact, this mosque was originally an idol-temple. Certainly Sikandar Shāh, the son of Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās Shāh made a beautiful mosque. He built it in the month of Rajab 776 (1374), and the building was not completed before the founder was struck down by the spade of death. On the east side of the high road, over the false (naqli) door, and behind the pulpit, there is

¹ According to Dr. Taylor, Sikandar was buried in Goalpāra, in the vicinity of Jāfarganj, l. c., 109.

² Perhaps this means Alexander the Younger, and not Alexander the Less.

the following inscription very beautifully written in the Tughrā character and in one line.

The text has already been published by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 257. But as there is a word near the beginning which Mr. Blochmann left doubtful, and as Ilāhī Bakhsh reads the date differently from Mr. Blochmann, I produce here the former's copy, and also his note on the doubtful word. He thinks it may be Al jāma', *i.e.*, the cathedral mosque.

کتابه

أمر ببناء هذه العمارة المسجد الحيا (* الجامع) في الدولة السلطان الاعظم
اعلم اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الواثق بتأييد الرحمن ابي المجاهد سلطان
سكندر شاه بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب
سنة ست و سبعين و سبعمائة (٧٧٦) -

It was ordered to build this mosque in the reign of the illustrious king, who is most learned, respected, and perfect amongst the kings of 'Arabia and 'Ajam, who hopes for help from God, Abū-l-majāhid Sultān Sikandar Shāh son of Īlyās Shāh Sultān (May God preserve his throne till doomsday). Date inscribed to commemorate the building, 776 A.H.¹

As regards the date, I am unable to come to any conclusion. Buchanan had it read to him as 704, and this is no doubt what is on the stone. That is, the Arabic word for the numeral is Sab'a (7) and not Sab'ain (70) as the facsimile in Ravenshaw, p. 70, shows. Ilāhī Bakhsh admitted this to me when I saw him at Māldah, but remarked with truth that the date 707 was quite inconsistent with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. There is certainly a *six* in the inscription, but Blochmann has taken this to refer to the month, and in this he seems supported by the words *fīu-t-tārīkh*, which would lead us to expect to find the day, and not merely the month of erection. On the other hand Ghulām Husain must have read the six as relating to the year, for he gives the date as 766. He was obliged to make it 766 instead of 776, because his idea was that Sikandar died in 769. It may be remarked, too, that 776 is more consistent with Sikandar's not having been able to complete the mosque than 770, for it seems that he reigned up to 792, though his latter years were troubled by his son Ghiyāshu-d-dīn. As the word in the inscription is Sab'a, *i.e.*, 7, and not 70, might it not be that the engraver wrote six, seven and seven hundred, *i.e.*, 776? I suppose it would be a grammatical error to write the date in this way, but then Mr. Blochmann tells us that there are numerous such errors in the Bengal

¹ Note by Ilāhī Bakhsh:—

The word الحيا can read as الجامع, and also may mean 'to include,' 'to embrace.'

Arabic inscriptions. They often consist, he says,¹ of “wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals.” He does not say that they mis-spell them.

SATĀĪSGHARA.²

This is also described at some length, but the author has not been able to add much to our knowledge of the origin of the place, &c. It was surrounded with jungle in his time.

He describes the remains of Baths at the place, and suggests that these may be the Baths, or Ḥauz, which, according to the Riyāz, Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās constructed in imitation of the Ḥauz-i-Shamsī of Delhi.³

He also notices the beautiful tank at Satāīsghara, and says it is known by the name of Naṣīr Shāh's tank.⁴ This, I suppose, must be the Nāsiru-d-dīn Abū-l-muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, who reigned from about 846–864, and in whose time the inscription now in the kitchen of Nūr Quṭb's shrine was put up. He succeeded to the dynasty of Rajah Kans, and restored that of Shamsu-d-dīn Īlyās Shāh. If it was he who made the tank, then the probability is increased that the Baths were made by his ancestor, for he would naturally revert to the palace of his forefathers.

In connection with Satāīsghar, Ilāhī Bakḥsh notices Makhdūm Shaikh Raja Biyābānī (King of the Wilds),⁵ who was a saint of great fame in the time of Īlyās Shāh. He says he died in 754 (1353), while the king was being besieged by the Emperor Fīrōz Shāh, and then, following the Riyāz, p. 97,⁶ he tells how Īlyās Shāh came out of his fort, disguised as a faqīr, and paid the last honours to the saint, and returned without the Emperor being aware of it.

Ilāhī Bakḥsh throws no light on the situation of Ekdālā,⁷ only remarking at p. 256, and apparently without authority, that Ekdālā was near Gaur. See note, Appendix A., pp. 227 and ff. He intended to give particulars of the site of Makhdūm Shaikh's tomb, but has left them blank in his MS. He notices Dēvṭolā, but gives less information about it than Cunningham, l. c., 94. He only says that many saints are buried there, and that a Cillakhāna of Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī is there.

Among places of minor importance, are noticed, Kaṇḍārun, where is the shrine of the saint Nūr Jahān, Kātīgāñ, the original home of the

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., 257 note.

² The name is perhaps Satāīsh ghar, the 27 houses.

³ See the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn. Persian text. Bib. Ind, p. 96, and *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 255.

⁴ According to Ravenshaw, p. 67, the local tradition is that the tank was made by Arjuna Pāṇḍava.

⁵ Such may be the meaning of the title, but more probably the name is connected with Rānī Bahānī, the foundress of Ekdālā. See Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 115.

⁶ See Appendix A. Note on the site of Ekdālā.

⁷ It may be noted that the Fīrōzpūr mentioned in the Riyāz, p. 96, as the place where the Emperor encamped, is a ward in Old Māldah.

famous Gōpālbhōg mangoes, the Dargāh of Pīr Ḥusain near Māldah¹ where there is a stone with an inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, dated 10th Zū-l-qa'da 899 (13th August 1494). The author gives the inscription, but it has already been published, being one of those discovered by Mr. Westmacott. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 301. At a place called Jaharpāl (?) and also called Baglahagī (?) and which is on the east bank of the Mahānanda there are two inscriptions, viz., one of 918 (1512) of Ḥusain Shāh's time, and another of 930 (1524) of Nāsiru-d-dīn's time. Both of these have been printed in *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., pp. 305 and 306. The author says he saw them near the house of Manglū Khān, deceased, who was a descendant of Ibrahīm Adham of Balkh, and that the bones of a saint named Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn are there, enclosed in a small box. Formerly the shrine of the saint was opposite Manglū's house in a place where the river now is, but the men of the neighbourhood were warned by the saint in a dream to take up his bones and put them where they now are. The author gives both the inscriptions, but it is unnecessary to republish them. Under the head of the Karbala, the inscription from Khalf Khān's mosque, dated 935 (1528-29) is noticed. See *J. A. S. B.*, l. c., pp. 307 and 308. The stone is now on a tomb at the Dargāh of a saint called Lankapat (the Nankapat of the *Journal*). The Ḥusain Shāh inscription of 914 (1508) (*J. A. S. B.*, l. c., 305) is also given. He states that this inscription had belonged to a Jamā mosque built by Ḥusain Shāh. That mosque is now destroyed, but one Raḥīm Dalāl built, in 1277 (1860) a small mosque on the site of the old one, and placed the old inscription on it. The stone is on the right side of the door of the new mosque. He gives the village of Shāhmaṇḍī near Masjidbārī as the site of this mosque. He gives the inscription which is of the date 914 (1508), but it has already been published, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 305, No. 13.

At page 178 he describes the tomb of Dariyā Khān,² which has already been referred to, and on the next page he describes an inscription which he found lying in some heavy jungle near another tomb in the neighbourhood. He says that he read it quickly, but that the words were as follows:—

کتابه

بني هذا الباب الحصن الحصين في حماية السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا
والدين ابي المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف
الحسيني ابي الملقبي بفضل الهي المشهور بالعبد شاه وبالعبد البدر خلد الله ملكه
وسلطنته - سنة ثلث و اربعين و تسعمائة -

Translation.

This strong gate was made with the help of the Sultān who is ruler of this world and the next, Abū-l-muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh son of Sayyad Ashrafu-l-ḥusainī, whose prayer is accept-

¹ At Cak Bād ?

² He also gives a genealogical tree of Dariyā Khān's family.

able to God, and who is commonly known as ‘Abd Shāh and ‘Abdu-l-badr (May God preserve his throne). Date 943 A. H.

The inscription is of the time of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Abū-l-muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, and so far as I know has never been published before. The date is 943 (1536), and it will be seen from Blochmann’s table, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 310, that no inscriptions of this king of later date than 941 have been published.

At page 180 the Gōlābāri inscription of 910 (1503-4) published, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 304, is given:

Under the head of Gōāmāltī,¹ page 183, a place about six miles south of English Bāzār, and which was the residence of Mr. Creighton, a very early inscription is referred to, which, I believe, has never been noticed before. It belongs to the year 711 (1311). Unfortunately, Ilāhī Bakhsh does not give a copy of the inscription. His words are—

“Near the (abandoned) indigo factory of Gōāmāltī, and to the east of it, there is a minār² in good order, and a ruined mosque. The mosque was built in the time of Sultan Bahādur Khān as the inscription shows, which is now lying at the factory.

Near the same mosque, at the east side there was a Khairāt Khāna (Poor-house) of which the remains still exist. North of the Factory at the distance of ten or twelve *rassies* (5 or 600 yards) on the west side of the high road there is a stone sarcophagus. Probably this belonged to some saint or king, and the English, who dig up tombs with large stones, may have thrown it here. There is nothing written. In that neighbourhood there are also many other remains of old buildings and marks of former populousness.

At Lakhīpur, on the west bank of the Paglā, there is a tomb of Sayyad Aḥmad of Māltīpūr, who was a great saint, and of whom many wonderful tales are told. His wife is buried beside him, and near at hand is the tomb of his barber.

Khāspūr, otherwise Tāṇḍā, was a town in old times. In 972 (1564) Sulāimān Kararāni abandoned Gauṛ on account of its climate, and

¹ The only Gōāmāltī inscription hitherto known appears to be one of 894, (1489), and belonging to the reign of Fīrōz Shāh II. It was discovered by Mr. Westmacott, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 299. It is just possible that the inscription to which Ilāhī Bakhsh refers is that upon bricks now in the Indian Museum, described by Cunningham, l. c., 72. Bahādur Shāh was called Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn as well as was the son of Sikandar. But Ilāhī Bakhsh speaks of the inscription as being on a stone.

² I suppose that this is the minaret mentioned by Francklin, and the “pinnacle” of Mr. Westmacott’s description. Bahādur Khān, or Shāh, reigned for 38 years, according to the *Riyāz*, p. 90. According to Mr. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, pp. 288-290, he reigned from 1311 (711), if not earlier, till about 731 (1331), and was called Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn.

made Tāṇḍā the seat of government. It quickly became full of buildings, but in 983 (1575) Man‘am Khān Khānān went back to Gaur on account of the mosques, &c., there. About 1242 (1826) the place was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now-a-days it lies as a heap of dust about a mile from Lakhīpūr. Tāṇḍā used to be famous for Khajakhas (ladles ?).”

THE CITY OF GAUR.

The introduction to the account of the antiquities of Gaur is mainly taken from the *Riyāzu-s-salātīn*, page 28, but there are some differences. I shall, therefore, allow the author to use his own words.

The city of Gaur is one of the oldest of cities, and was once the seat of government. Now it is in decay. It lies south of English Bāzār at a distance of twelve miles, on the east bank of the Bhāgīrathī. They say when Fīrōz Rai, the king of India was routed by Rūstam, he fled to the hills of Jhār Khaṇḍ and died there. Rūstam, who was wearied out by his pursuit of Fīrōz, bestowed the sovereignty of India on a Hindu named Sūraj. Sūraj became a great monarch and ruled over the Deccan and Bengal, and he is the same as the Sūraj who planted Kanauj. After him, his son Bharāj became king, but in his time disturbances arose. At last a Brahman by name Gandār,¹ marched from the Sivāliks and became victorious. Then in the end of his reign one Singaldīp marched from Kōch Bihār and conquered the whole of Bengal and Bihār and founded the city of Gaur, about 1017 years before the Hijra era.² And as this was the name of the capital, so it became the name of the whole of Bengal. Then, after a lapse of years, in 450 A.H. (1058) Rajah Lakkhan Sēn or Lakman Sēn obtained the sovereignty of Bengal, and embellished Gaur, so that it became known by his name and was called Lakhnautī. But still this name had less currency. Then in 945 (1538) Humāyūn, the son of Bābar, came to Bengal and rejecting the name of Gaur on account of its semblance to the word for a grave, called the city Jannatābād. But this name too, did not last long. Then in 983 (1575), when 2000 years had elapsed since the founding of the city (1017 + 983), in the time of Man‘am Khān Khānān, the Nāzīm of Bengal, in the reign of Akbar, such a terrible pestilence befel the city that thousands died daily. At last the living were wearied of burying the dead and flung them into the river, and such a stench arose that no one could remain in the city. In short, in the space of a year, the city became deserted, and full of jungle. Then in 1049 (1639) the river Ganges which from of old had flowed

¹ The *Riyāz* calls him Kaidār.

² About 395 B.C.

under the city diverged towards Rājmahāl, and the city which for 66 (1049 — 983) years had ceased to be a capital, now became altogether jungle and has remained deserted up till now.

دران جائی کہ گل و گلشن و منزل و مکان بود
بیابان و پلنگ و بوزنہ و روباه صی بینم

“Where there were rose gardens and dwellings, now I see a wilderness and leopards, apes, and foxes.”

Alas for the ancient city of Gaur, which was so great a city of India, and had lofty ramparts and had an area, it is said, of fourteen *kōs*, and had many great buildings, and was a seat of sovereignty, and the residence of powerful kings. But the revolutions of fate are for our warning. In the course of one year,¹ it fell from its state of populousness and all this rose-like land is now the abode of monkeys and tigers. Only a few buildings which were of stone and exceptionally strong still exist, while the others which were of brick and plaster have fallen down. Their materials too, have been used for the construction of Māldah, English Bāzār, Murshidābād, &c. The following is the list of the buildings, of which traces still exist.

THE QADAM RASŪL.

This is a square one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort. Its length from east to west is 24 cubits, and its breadth is the same. The Bhāgīrathī flows to the west of it at a distance of thirty *rassies* (about 1,500 yards). This building was erected by Sulṭān Naṣrat Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh in 937 (1530). There is a Tughrā inscription in three lines over the doorway.²

Inside the mosque,³ under the dome there is a footprint of the holy apostle (may blessings be upon him), on a piece of stone. They say that this stone was formerly at Paṇḍuā in the Cillakhānā of Shāh Jalālū-d-dīn Tabrizī, and that it was removed by Ḥusain Shāh. The stone must have been brought from Arabia by the saint, or by some other holy personage. There is an inscribed stone on the south⁴ side of the enclosing wall of the mosque, which must have been brought

¹ Alluding to the pestilence of 1575, but the city was partially occupied again after that.

² The author gives the inscription, but it appears in Ravenshaw, p. 20, and in Cunningham.

³ When I was at Gaur, I found that the stone had been stolen.

⁴ Cunningham corrects Ravenshaw's "northern." He supposes, Archæological Report, XV, 61, that the inscription formerly belonged to the Tāntipāra mosque. I regret that in my paper on Francklin, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, p. 89 this has been printed Cāntipārā.

from another mosque built in 885 (1480). The inscription is as follows:—(It occurs in Ravenshaw, p. 22, and in *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 277, but is produced here because the author was apparently able to read some words which Blochmann found illegible).

كُتَابُهُ

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله تعالى له مبعدين
قصوراً في الجنة بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس
الدين والدين ابي المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باريك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه
السلطان - بني هذا المسجد خان اعظم خاقان المعظم مرصاد خان اتابك رايت اعلى
بتاريخ هرتهم مائة مبارک رمضان سنة خمس وثمانين وثمانمائة -

Translation.

The prophet (may the blessing and mercy of God be upon him) has said, 'Whoever builds a mosque for God, God builds for him 70 palaces in paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh Sultān, son of Bārbak Shāh Sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh by the illustrious Khān Mirṣād Khān on the 18th Ramazān 885 A. H.

Behind the dome of the Qadam Rasūl mosque, at the west side, there is a building of which the roof and some of the walls have fallen down. Inside are some masonry tombs in a ruined state. It is probable that these are the tombs of princes, or of high officers of Ḥusain Shāh and Naṣrat Shāh. West of the Qadam Rasūl there is a tank which is perhaps a remain of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn. Certainly it is known by the name of the Jalālī tank.¹

THE TOMB OF FATH KHĀN.

This is outside of the enclosure of the Qadam Rasūl inside of a building which has been much destroyed, and has no inscription. They say that when Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr, the king of Delhi, suspected Shāh Ni'matu-llāh of having instigated his pupil Sultān Shujā' to go to war, he deputed one of his soldiers, Dilēr Khān, a man who used to fight with a raging elephant, to cut off the saint's head, although in fact the latter had never advised Sultān Shujā' to go to war, but on the contrary had several times advised him against doing so. When Dilēr Khān with his two sons arrived in Gaur, one of the latter, whose name was Fath Khān, spat blood two or three times, and then gave up the ghost. The sorrowing father buried the body and prostrated himself before the saint. The event was reported to Aurangzēb, who after that placed confidence in the saint.

¹ The Riyāz, p. 116, mentions the Jalālī tank as one of Jalālu-d-dīn's works.

SHĀHU-LLĀH ṢĀHIB.

This saint was a contemporary of Nūr Qutbu-d-dīn of Paṇḍuā. His shrine is opposite the Qadam Rasūl, on the south side.

THE CĪKĀ MOSQUE.

This is 2 or 3 *rassies* south of the Qadam Rasūl and very old. The dome is large, and it is always inhabited by tigers. The common people call it the Cīkā Masjīd, and I heard from them that the place has been known from of old as the jail, and that it is also known by the name of the Cōrkḥāna. Near it there was another very small building. Probably the so-called mosque was not one, but was an office, or women's apartments, for what necessity was there for having small and big mosques close together? But as there is no inscription we cannot tell the real fact.

* * * * * *

LUKĀ CURI (?).

This is a large two-storied building in the middle of the enclosure of the fort, and south-east of the Qadam Rasūl. This building is a gateway and very handsome, and is ornamented as if it were the Royal Entrance. On each side there are places for guards, and above them was a Naqārkhāna (place for beating drums). Probably it was erected by Husain Shāh or his son.¹

THE BĀIS GAZĪ (22 YARDS) WALL.

This is a lofty wall, west of the Qadam Rasūl and about 10 *rassies* off. The common people call it the Bāis Gazī, and also the Ghōr Daur (the Race-course). Those parts which are standing are about 44 cubits high.

THE KHAZĀNCĪ.

This is west by north from the Qadam Rasūl and about 20 *rassies* off. It is inside of the Bāis Gazī Wall. There is a plot of ground (ṭabaqā) here which the people of Gaur called the Khazāncī (Treasurer). In the middle of this plot there is a large tank,² and west of this tank there is a large terrace which bears marks of having been dug up. Probably it was the king's treasury. It is also known as the king's harem (Maḥal Sarāī).

¹ This is the "Eastern Gate" of Ravenshaw, p. 26, and which Mr. King calls the Lakkha Chhippi Gate. Perhaps the word is the Hindi Lauka, meaning brilliant, or illuminated.

² Locally known as the Taksāl Dighī, or Mint-tank.

THE GUMBĀZ GHŪSAL GĀH (THE DOME OF THE BATH).

It is a small square building with a lofty dome. It is on the west side of the tomb. It probably was a women's bath.

BANGLĀKŌṬ.

It is about 5 *rassies* from the Treasury and north-east of it, and about 15 *rassies* north-west from the Qadam Rasūl. The people of Mahīu-d-dīnpūr *alias* Maḥdīpūr call it Banglākōṭ. There is a tank there under the fort, and I saw fallen pillars and signs of stones having been dug up, &c. South-east of it there is a large tamarind tree, and about eight cubits from it, on the south, there are two masonry graves which have been excavated. From old people of Maḥdīpūr and from the Khādim of Qadam Rasūl, I heard that these were the graves of Ḥusain Shāh and his wife. They also said that the large sarcophagus which is lying near the village of Khaṛī, was inside of the tomb of Ḥusain Shāh, and had been lifted and thrown where it now is. About eight cubits south of the tombs there was a square enclosure, the walls of which were of variously coloured bricks. Inside of the enclosure, which was about 16 cubits square, there were several masonry tombs composed of coloured bricks, and about two spans in height. In my childhood I saw these tombs and the enclosure, and though somewhat decayed they were in a manner entire. In about 1263 (1846) these tombs and the enclosure were destroyed, and now hardly a trace of them is to be seen. This illustrious Banglākōṭ, with its trees and bamboos, &c., was from of old in the possession of the ancestors of Mīr Dōman, an inhabitant of Maḥdīpūr, who gave himself out to be a descendant of Ḥusain Shāh. He (shame on him) and his sons dug up the inscribed stones, and the coloured bricks and sold them, and thereby displayed their baseness.

به است دختر نیکو ز بد اطوار پسر

“A good daughter is better than a bad son.”

In 1281 (1863) I saw in the possession of Mīr Hānsā, the grandson of Mīr Dōman, a paper signed by the Nawab Mu'zam Khān, dated 1070 (1659) whereby 50 bighās rent-free in the village of Banglākōṭ were by order of Aurangzēb granted to Sayyad Āmbiā, the grandson of Sayyad Sultān, for the purpose of lighting the tombs of the kings of Gaur. And the lands are still in the possession of the family under this grant. Mīr Hānsā also pointed out a place north of Ḥusain Shāh's tomb and said that in Banglākōṭ, in that place, there were more than a hundred tombs of kings and their relations, but which were now in disrepair. Only here and there were holes marking where the graves had been.

THE MĪNĀR.

In the neighbourhood it is also known by the name of the Tīr Āsa Mandīr,¹ it is north north-east of the Qadam Rasūl and at a distance of about 25 *rassies*, and opposite Banglākōṭ, and outside of the fort. It was built by Sultān Fīrōz Shāh, the Abyssinian. The inscription and the lower stones have been dug up and stolen. The height of the Minār is about 50 cubits and its circumference about 54 cubits. On the east there is a tank which probably was also made by Fīrōz Shāh, who was reigning in 893 (1487).

THE GATE OF THE FORT, OR THE DĀKHIL GATE.

This is a large gateway north by west of the Qadam Rasūl, and about a mile away. It appears from the Riyāz that this lofty gateway was made by Husain Shāh. Near it, on the north, is a tank and from the latter an *ābgīr* (aqueduct) comes out on the east side and goes south a long way, and above it there are battlements. And from this gate on the west side, at a distance of about twenty *rassies*, near the Bhāgīrathī on the roadside, there is a large sarcophagus of black basalt, which is twisted to the west, and is in three fragments. There is no inscription. Some say that it is the tomb of Husain Shāh, and the Khādīm of the Qadam Rasūl said that the tomb of Husain Shāh had been brought here from Banglākōṭ. South of it I saw another sarcophagus of hard stone.

THE KŌṬWĀLĪ GATE.

Also called the Salāmī Gate. It is near Maḥīu-d-dīnpūr or Maḥdīpūr, to the east, or the high road. To the south of it, at a distance of about twenty *rassies* is Balwa Dighī² (tank). There are battlements, east and west of the gateway, and on each side there are apertures for firearms. North of this gateway, at a distance of about half-a-mile, close to the old bridge, on the east side of the road, I saw a large stone with an inscription in unknown (ḥarf *khafi*) characters. Although it could not be clearly made out, so much I read that Sultān Maḥmud in 862 A.H. (1457) had built the gate of the fort.

(This is the inscription which Cunningham says he found, p. 57, and which Blochmann has translated, *J. A. S. B.*, XLIV, 289. It refers to the building of the bridge. Francklin speaks of two pillars with Sanskrit inscriptions in this neighbourhood).

¹ Such is the reading in the MS., but probably Tīr is a clerical error for Pīr. I was told on the spot that the name of the column was Pīr 'Aṣā Minār. 'Aṣā means a staff in Arabic and Persian, and perhaps is used here as equivalent to the Lāṭh of Fīrōz Shah of Delhi.

² The Ballo Dighi of Ravenshaw, p. 36.

THE GŪNMAT MOSQUE.

This is about a mile north by west of the Kōṭwālī Gate, and near Maḥdīpūr, on the east side, and in thick jungle. Its length from north to south is 72 cubits, and its breadth 36 cubits. It had seven domes, all of which have fallen down.

THE MOSQUE OF RĀJBĪBĪ.

It is south-east of the Kōṭwālī Gate, east of the high road, between two tanks, one of which is called Baliyā (?) Dighī, and the other Kahaniā Dighī. It is a small mosque; the people of Gaur call it Rājībībī's mosque. It is 37 cubits long from east to west, and 29 cubits broad. There is a large dome, and on the east side three small ones.

THE MOSQUE OF DĪN CAK.

It has three domes. Near this mosque, on the north side, I saw a very small ruined building. Perhaps it was the tomb of the builder of the mosque and of his family.

THE PĪṬHĀWĀLĪ'S MOSQUE.

This was near the Kōṭwālī Gate, and north by west of it. It was a small mosque, and people called it the mosque of the Pīṭhāwālī (the mosque of the flour-grinding woman). In about 1278 (1861), it was dug up, and now no trace of it is left.

THE BEGH MUḤAMMAD MOSQUE.

About thirty *rassies* north of the Gūnmat Mosque, there was a small mosque of this name, and in front of it was a terrace of coloured bricks. Now the dome, &c., have fallen down. Opposite the mosque are the tombs of Begh Muḥammad and others.

THE DARAS MOSQUE.

Between Maḥdīpūr and Fīrōzpūr there is a piece of ground which the people call Darasbārī (the Lecture Room). In that place I saw a large mosque built of brick, with stone pillars. Its length from north to south was 65 cubits, and its breadth 38 cubits. From north to south there were seven rows, and from east to west 4—altogether 28 cupolas. Out of these, some towards the north were broken.

When in 1293 (1876) the jungle about this mosque was cleared in the presence of the author, a large inscription was found under a heap of rubbish. Its wording was as follows:—

کتابه

قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعو مع الله احداً وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله له قصرًا في الجنة مثله قد بني هذا المسجد

الجامع السلطان الاعظم مالك الرقاب و الامم السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان
شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باريك شاه السلطان بن محمود
شاه خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته و افاض على العالمين احسانه و برة في سنة هجرة اربع
و ثمانين و ثمانمائة *

Translation.

God has said, He is proprietor of all mosques, so do not mention any name with God's name. And the prophet has said, whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build for him similarly a palace in paradise. This mosque was built by the righteous and great King, who is Sun of this world and the next, Abū-l-muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh, son of Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh (May God preserve his throne, and may his generosity reach the whole world). Date 884 A.H.

(The inscription is referred to at page 76 of Cunningham's Archæological Report, Vol. XV., and a plate of it is given. But I am not aware if a reading and translation have been published).

THE KUMBHĪR PĪR, OR ALLIGATOR SAINT.

North-east of the Qadam Rasūl, there is a large masonry tomb, and near it there are other tombs. Some of these have so decayed that the bones of the dead may be seen inside of them. Here there is a large tank, the water of which is very clear, and which is inhabited by alligators.¹ From of old some people of the neighbourhood have believed that these alligators are the equipage of the saint, and some even hold that a large alligator there is the Pīr Ṣāhib himself. When a goat or a cock is presented as an offering, the *Khādim* rolls up the bones and skin into a mess, which they call a piṇḍā, and flings it into the tank, at the same time crying out 'Bābū Shāh Khizr, take the piṇḍā.' Thereupon a large alligator comes up from under the water to the bank, takes the mess and goes back again. Sometimes, though often called, he does not come, or if he comes, does not take the piṇḍā, even though intreated, and then the donor suspects that it is from some fault of his that the offering is not received. * * * * * I asked the *Khādim*, what was the name of the Pīr, and he said 'Bābū Shāh Khizr (Elias)'.
* * * * *

The Tāntīpārā Mosque. The author gives the dimensions of this mosque, &c., and says that the people of Gauṛ state that it was built by one 'Umar Qāzī, and that of two graves there, one is his, and the other his brother Zū-l-Qarān's. Then after noticing the Chamkaṭī Mosque, he notices a place which is called the residence of Dhanpat Saudāgar, or Cānd Saudāgar. The Laṭṭōnkī Masjid is also noticed, and the tradition mentioned that it was built by a dancing Girl.

¹ See Ravenshaw, p. 13.

The Gharī Khāna or Gong-house is mentioned. This was inside the Fort enclosures, and south of the Dākhil Darwāza. The gong was removed to the cutcherries at English Bāzār, and was broken in 1272 (1855). The author heard it struck from a distance of six miles, *viz.*, from the high bank of the Sāgar Dighī.

At page 204 we have a biography of Sayyad Shāh Ni'matu-llāh. He was a native of Karnaul, in the province of Delhi, and was a great traveller. In the course of his wanderings he came to Rājmahāl, where he was much honoured by Sultān Shujā'. At last he settled in the Fīrōzpūr quarter of Gauṛ where he died, according to one account, in 1075 (1664), and according to another, in 1080 (1669). At his shrine there is an inscription of Ḥusain Shāh, dated 918 (1512). This is the inscription quoted in Ravenshaw, p. 88, Cunningham, p. 52, and *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, p. 295. We now know where it is to be found. In the same compound there is another inscription, the date of which is given by the author as 10th Zū-l-ḥijja 870 (1465), but which is given in Ravenshaw as 1st Zū-l-ḥijja 970 (22nd July 1563). It records the building of a gateway by Khān Jahān. The inscription as given by Ilāhī Bakhsh is as follows:—

کتابه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة
و اتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين - و قال النبي
صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً فى الجنة مثله - عمارة هذا
المسجد الجامع فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبج السعادات - ارحم
المسلمين و المسلمين معنى كلمات الحق و الحسنات المؤيد بتأييد الدين المجاهد
فى سيدل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين علاء الدنيا
و الدين ابى المظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته - بنى هذا
المسجد الجامع خالصاً مخلصاً متوكلاً على الله ابو محمد بن ابى على المخاطب
بخطاب مجلس المجالس منبج منصور نصره الله تعالى فى الدنيا و الآخرة و تاريخه
الميمون فى الرابع عشر من شهر رجب المبارك رجب الله قدرة و شانه - سنة (چون
گوشه چارمين كتابه هذا كه در انجا سنه و تاريخ بود ترقيده فرورينجه است لهذا تاريخ
تعمير معلوم نشد) -

God has said, no one builds a mosque for God except he who has faith in God and in the day of resurrection, and who says his prayer and gives alms, and who fears not any one except God ; so that these are righteous people. And the Prophet has said, whoever builds a mosque for the sake of God

God builds similarly a palace for him in paradise. This mosque was built in the time of the pious and generous King Abū-l-muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh. The mosque was built by Abū Muḥammad son of Abā ‘Alī, styled Majlisu-l-majālis (May God make him prosper both in this world and the next). The date of building is 14th Rajjab year—(The year is not given, as the portion of the inscription stone which contained the date is broken.)

“The word of God is that mosques belong to God. The builder of this gateway was Khān Jahān, 10th Zū-l-ḥijja 870.”

There was a Khān Jahān in Akbar’s time, but 970 (1563) seems too early for his being in Gauṛ, nor does one see why he should build a mosque or a gate there.¹ See Blochmann’s *Aīn*, No. 24, p. 330. Perhaps the 870 of Ilāhī Bakhsh is right. We find the title Khawājah Jahān in an inscription of 863. See Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLI, p. 108.

The Jāmi‘ Masjid, *i.e.*, the Small Golden Mosque of Ravenshaw, is described, and we are told that it is also called the Khawājah’s mosque, and that the tradition is that it was built by a eunuch. The author gives the inscription, and notices that the corner which contained the year has been broken away. See Cunningham, *l. c.*, 75. He also notices two stone tombs opposite the mosque which may be those of the builder of the mosque and some relative, but which the country people say are fictitious (*naql*) tombs. He gives the inscriptions on the tombs; but they appear to be only extracts from the Qurān. See Cunningham, *l. c.*, 76.

The tomb of a merchant named Aṣālat Khān Haft Qalmī is noticed. It is said that he lived in the time of Sultan Shujā’ and Nawab Jāfar Khān, and that he could write in seven different characters.

The Golden Mosque of Naṣrat Shāh is noticed. The inscription is now gone, but its date was 932 (1526).

In noticing the place called Rāmkhēl, the author says that he has given an account of Sonāton in his *Tazkirah* (autobiography?).

The account of Gauṛ closes at page 211 with a plan of the ruins.

At page 214 we have an account of Makhdūm Shaikh Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn.² We are told that he was the first Hindūstānī who was nominated as a saint by Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya of Delhi. He came to Gauṛ as his mother lived there, but he was originally from Oude. Mr. Blochmann says he died in 758 or 1357,³ but according to Ilāhī Bakhsh he died on 1st Shawwāl 743 (1342). The chronogram of his death is—

زود گو کان روز عید الفطر بود

¹ The inscription is in the Taghūrā character. I am not aware if this was used in Akbar’s time.

² Cunningham says *l. c.*, p. 72, that this saint is best known by the name of Purānā Pīr, or the ‘old saint,’ but the title given to him by Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 219, is Pīranpīr (equal to Pīr-Pīrānan) or saint of saints, in allusion to the fact that Alāu-l-ḥaqq and others were taught by him. Ferishta gives him the title of Parwāna (Inspector?).

³ *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 260.

“ Say quickly, 'Twas 'Īdu-l-fiṭr day.”¹

The letters of the four last words give 743.

According to Ferishta, Bombay, ed. II, 737, four lines from top and 743, 5 lines from bottom, Ākhī Sirāju-d-dīn was the grandfather² of Nūr Quṭb, but perhaps he was only the spiritual father. Ferishta tells us that he came to Delhi young and ignorant, and that Fakhr-u-d-dīn Irādī (perhaps Zarādī), took him in hand and instructed him.

According to Ilāhī Bakhsh, the saint did not leave Delhi till three years after Nizāmu-d-dīn's death, and consequently in 728 (1327),

The two inscriptions of 916 referred to by Cunningham, l. c. 71, are noticed by Ilāhī Bakhsh.

At page 217 the Jāmi' Masjid is described. This is the Jan Jan Mīyān Mosque of Ravenshaw, 10. The author reads the inscription differently from Blochmann.³ His interpretation says nothing about the builder being a lady.

کتابه

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة
مثله - بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين
ابى المظفر محمود شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته
(some words illegible left out.)
تسعمائة - (٩٤١) -

Translation.

The prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) has said, whoever builds a mosque for God, God will build for him similarly a palace in paradise. This mosque was built in the time of the King Abū-l-muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh son of Ḥusain Shāh (may God always preserve his rank) in 941 A.H.

At page 222 we have a notice of Bahrāl where Nawab Sirāju-d-dīn daula was arrested through the instrumentality of Dān Shāh, a faqīr. Dān Shāh's resting place or *takiya*, is there, and his tomb is a mile away, on the river bank.

Gangā Rāmpūr. This lies north-west from English Bāzār at a distance of eight miles. It was a city in old times, and there are still traces of buildings there. Ḥazrat Makhdūm Shāh Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī had his *Takiya* there. The people there narrate to the effect that Rajah Lakṣmaṇa Sēna, the last Hindu King of Bengal, had his capital here. (This appears to be the Gangārāmpūr mentioned by Cunningham, Archæological Reports, Vol.

¹ This is an ingenious chronogram for it gives the day and month as well as the year of death, the 'Īdu-l-fiṭr occurring on 1st Shawwāl immediately after the Ramzān.

² At page 85, l. c., Cunningham incorrectly quotes Blochmann as saying that 'Alāu-d-dīn was the son of Shaikh Ākhī. See *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 261.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, XLI, 339.

XV, 45, and described as a small village south of Māldah. General Cunningham found there an inscription dated 647 (1249).

The rest of the volume from pages 226 to 495 is occupied with a history of Bengal, but I do not think that it contains anything new or valuable. It seems to be in great measure compiled from the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, the *Siyaru-l-mutakhkharīn*, and Marshman's History of India. The only things I noticed in it was a reference at page 246 to rupis of Taghral Shāh being occasionally picked up in Gaur, an account and representation at pages 285, and 286 of Sikkās of Maḥmūd Shāh which the author had seen, and which bore the date 944 (1537), and a copy at page 327, of Sultan Shujā's seal.

CONCLUSION.

I have now finished my analysis of the Bengal portion of the *Khurshid Jahān Numā*. It will be seen that, so far as publication is concerned, *Ilāhī Bukhsh* has been anticipated with regard to most of the inscriptions. Apparently the only entirely new inscriptions are five in number, *viz.*, one of 913 at page 133 of MS., one of 1170 (qr. 1059) at page 153, one of 1000 at page 158, one of 943 at page 179, and one of 711 at page 183. At page 206 we have an inscription which is not new, but of which the date is given as 870 instead of 970, as in Ravenshaw.

The dates of the saints' deaths, &c., *viz.*, 738 for Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrizī, 786 for 'Alāu-l-ḥaqq, and 818 for Nūru-l-ḥaqq are new, and so are the chronograms which express them. Much of the information too about the saints and their shrines is new. At page 246 we have a reference to coins of Taghral Shāh, and at page 286 we have a description of a coin of Muḥammād Shāh, dated 944, which seems to be new.

On the whole, I think, we must say that *Ilāhī Bukhsh* has done well, and that he deserves to be held in remembrance along with Ghulām Husain, Creighton, Francklin, Ravenshaw and Blochmann.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE ON THE SITE OF EKDĀLĀ.

In *J. A. S. B.*, XLIII, 244, there is a note by Mr. Westmacott, accompanied by a map, in which he endeavours to show that the Ekdālā of Bengal history was a place of that name in Dinajpur. But Mr. Westmacott did not actually see the spot, and after weighing the evidence it seems to me that there can be no reasonable doubt that the Ekdālā of history is the well-known place of that name in the district of Dacca. This Ekdālā is marked in Rennell's map, No. 6, of the Low Countries beyond the Ganges, under the name of Ekdālā, as lying about 25 miles north-north-east of Dacca, on the west side of the Bānar, near its confluence with the Lakṣmiā. The situation of this Ekdālā corre-

sponds with the accounts of the historians, for it has a river on one side and the Bhawal jungles on the other. Apparently the old fort stood at a place now called Dūrdūriā, eight miles above the modern village of Ekdālā, for it is mentioned in the Statistical Account of Bengal, V, 73, that there are the remains of a strong fort there. The fullest account of the place is to be found in the valuable book of Dr. Taylor on the Topography of Dacca, now unfortunately out of print. He shows both Ekdālā and Dūrdūriā on his map, and at pages 112–15, we have a detailed account of the place and of the traditions connected with it. He tells us that Dūrdūriā is on the opposite side of the river from Ekdālā, and that there are the remains of a fort there, and opposite to it (*i.e.*, on the Ekdālā, or west side), there are the foundations of a town said to have been built by the Buneā Rajahs. They are also said to have built the fort. He gives a description of the works, and notices the remains of a mosque known by the name of Shaikh ‘Alā’s, and which was probably erected by Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-dīn (*i.e.*, Ḥusain Shāh). The fort is known by the name of Rānī Bāri, and is said to have belonged to Rānī Bhabānī. Dr. Taylor adds, “From the depth of the river, and of the moats that surrounded it, this fort must have been a place of considerable strength, and in all probability it was the one in which Ilyās Shamsu-d-dīn, the Second (? the Third), independent king of Bengal, was besieged by the Emperor Firōz in 1353.” He then tells the story of Ilyās Shāh’s coming out of the fort to attend the funeral of Rajah Bīyabānī, and suggests that this saint was a descendant of Rānī Bhabānī. This seems a valuable suggestion. The title of Rajah is a curious one for a Muḥammadan saint, and in all probability points to the fact, that he was a converted Hindu. Bīyabānī, means wild, or desert, in Persian, but it closely resembles the name of the Rānī, and it is likely that the two words are identical.

According to Ferishta, Bombay Ed. I, 262, and the Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn, p. 97, the river to which Firōz Shāh made his feigned retreat was the Ganges, but the Ganges is not near the Dinajpur Ekdālā, whereas in Dacca we have the river known as the Buriganga.

The description¹ by Ziyāhu-d-dīn Baranī of the flooded nature of the country about Ekdālā, and his reference to the large mosquitoes, which it was thought by Ilyās and the Bengalis would prevent the Imperial Army from encamping, agree better with Dacca than Dinajpur. But I should think that the mere fact that Shams i ‘Afif, in his history of Firōz Shāh, p. 112, speaks of the islands of Ekdālā جزائر اكداله²

¹ Bib. Ind., Ed. 589.

² The proper spelling appears to be Akdālā. The first syllable reminds us of Akmaḥāl, the old name of Rājmaḥāl, and the two words may be connected. But the Ak of Akmaḥāl is written Āk.

is sufficient to show that the place was in Eastern Bengal. We know, too that the kings of Bengal, from the days of Lakṣmaṇa Sēna, used, like the Egyptians of old, to retreat to the marshes whenever they were in difficulty, and for this purpose they went to Eastern Bengal.

The question about the site of Ekdālā might be definitively settled by finding the tomb of Makhdūm Shaikh Rājā Biyābānī, for it was probably very near Ekdālā, seeing that Hājī Ilyās came out of the fort in disguise and attended the funeral, while he was besieged by Firōz Shāh. It is even said that he appeared before the Emperor, disguised as a faqīr, and saluted him, and returned, without being recognised. If, as Dr. Taylor suggests, the saint was connected with Rānī Bhabānī, his tomb may perhaps be found near the Dacca Ekdālā, or near Dūrdūriā, if it has not been washed away by the river. If he was a noted saint, it is curious that we hear nothing of his tomb being in Dinajpur or Māldah. Evidently Ilāhī Bukhsh did not know the site of this tomb, for he has left blanks in his MS. for the direction and distance. It would also be of importance to find out if there is any place in Dacca or Dinajpur known as Azādpur, which is said¹ to have been the name substituted by Firōz Shāh for Ekdālā. Mr. Westmacott could not hear of this name in Dinajpur,² nor have I met with it in the list of parganas in Dacca, though there is a place there called A'zampur.³

The only objection to the Dacca Ekdālā is that Ziyahu-d-dīn Barānī, Bib. Ind., Ed. p. 588, speaks of Ekdālā as being near Paṇḍuā. But he wrote in his old age, at Delhi, and apparently he had never visited Bengal and had no local knowledge. The vague expression "near Paṇḍuā" is hardly appropriate to the Dinajpur village, for that is about twenty-three miles away. Husain Shāh is said to have every year gone on foot from Ekdālā to Paṇḍuā, to visit the shrine of Nūr Qutb. This is quite consistent with his residence having been the Dacca Ekdālā, for Husain Shāh was a good deal in Eastern Bengal. He built a mosque at Sōnārgāō, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, 295, and Dr. Taylor tells us, l. c. 115, that there are the remains of a mosque at Dūrdūriā which goes by his name.

¹ Shams Sirāj 'Afif's Tārīkh Firōz-Shāhī, Bib. Ind., Ed., p. 122.

² The Dinajpur Ekdālā is in pargana Dhanjar. The Dacca Ekdālā is in Kapasiā, but I do not know the pargana.

³ See Grant's Analysis, Fifth Report, 368.

APPENDIX B.

JALĀLU-D-DĪN TABRĪZĪ.

According to Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 260 and 281, Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī died in 642 A.H. or 1244. He does not give his authority for this statement, and I have not been able to find in the Persian lives of saints any mention of the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death.¹ Indeed, it seems that the exact date must be unknown, for Jalālu-d-dīn apparently died in the Maldive Islands—far away from his friends and countrymen. It has been seen that according to the guardians of the shrine, Jalālu-d-dīn was in Paṇḍuā till 738 or 1337, and that according to some, he did not die there, but went off to some other place. It would be singular if tradition gave him a later date than the real one, for ordinarily it exaggerates the antiquity of a saint or other great man. It is also clear from Ibn Batutah that a Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī was living in Assam or Sylhet, in the reign of Fakhrū-d-dīn or between 739 and 750. I am indebted for this important reference to Mr. Blochmann, who in his turn got it from my dear friend Dr. Wise, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 281.² The reference there is to Lee's translation of the fragment of Ibn Batutah, and I have since then consulted the French translation by Defrènery and Sanguinetti. Ibn Batutah's account of his interview

¹ I have since found the date 642 in the *Khazīnatu-l-aṣfiyā* of Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore, I. 283 of Newal Kishor ed. Perhaps this was the source of Mr. Blochmann's statement. But Ghulām Sarwar is quite a modern author, as the chronogram of his book's title shows (1254 or 1839), and he gives no authority for his statement. He is the same man who gives the wrong date for Nūr Quṭb's death, and evidently he does not know much about Jalālu-d-dīn, for he makes no reference to his visit to the Maldives. The *Siyaru-l-arifīn* was written in the time of Humāyūn, and is apparently the source of Abū-l-faḍl's short notice in the *Āīn* (Jarrett's translation III. 366). The *Siyaru-l-arifīn* is an account of thirteen saints of the Chisti order and, as Dr. Rieu observes in his Catalogue, the notices are arranged in chronological order. Jalālu-d-dīn is tenth on the list and after Bahāu-d-dīn and others. The writer evidently did not know the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death for he does not give it, and only says that he left Bengal and went to the port of Dēo Mahāl, (*i.e.*, the Maldives). Abū-l-faḍl makes a similar statement and gives no date of death.

² It is difficult to say if Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī is the same as Shāh Jalāl of Sylhet. The location of the latter might agree with Ibn Batutah, and it is singular that both accounts should mention a Burhānu-d-dīn. But the dates seem all confused. If 591 A.H. had been Shāh Jalāl's birth-day instead of the day of his death, he might have been Ibn Batutah's Jalālu-d-dīn, who lived for 150 years. In one place Ibn Batutah calls Jalālu-d-dīnu-sh-Shīrāzī, IV., 287, of French translation. This is probably a clerical error, or a slip of Ibn Batutah's. Ibn Batutah's book is unfortunately confused, and wanting in precision. He did not write it himself, but dictated it in after life to an African friend.

with Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī begins at page 215 of Volume IV. of the first edition of the French translation. He there tells us that after arriving at Sadkāwān, he set off for the mountains of Kām̄rū, in order to see a holy person who dwelt there, viz., Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīnu-t-Tabrīzī. He then describes how he found him and stayed at his hermitage for three days. He tells some wonderful stories about the Shaikh's pre-science, and fasting powers, but omits to tell us what we should like to know, viz., where he first heard about Jalālu-d-dīn, or the exact place where he found him. He mixes up his narrative of what he saw with what he afterwards heard from Jalālu-d-dīn's disciples, and omits to tell when and where he received these communications.

It is true that Ilāhī Bakhsh's account of Jalālu-d-dīn seems inconsistent with his having been alive in the 8th century of the Hijra, for he tells us that Jalālu-d-dīn came to Delhi in the time of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, and was a contemporary of Bahāu-d-dīn Zakariyā. Now Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, who is the person meant, died in 633 according to Abū-l-faḥl, and in 634 according to Ferīḡhta, and Bahāu-d-dīn died either in 665 or 666. Ferīḡhta's references to Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī also imply that he flourished in the first half of the 7th century of the Hijra, for he describes¹ him as the friend of Bahāu-d-dīn, and as obtaining leave from Shihābu-d-dīn, Suhrawardī, to accompany Bahāu-d-dīn from Bagdad to India. However, he stopped on the way at Khwārazan, while Bahāu-d-dīn went on to Multan. He also mentions, l. c. p. 718, four lines from bottom that Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī came to Bagdad for the second time from Kharāsan, while Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn was there, and gave him news of Ma'ūnu-d-dīn Cishti. The two then went together to Multan, and eventually Quṭbu-d-dīn proceeded to Delhi whilst Jalālu-d-dīn went off to Ghaznī. This must have been subsequent to the time when Jalālu-d-dīn set out with Bahāu-d-dīn from Bagdad, for when he and Quṭbu-d-dīn came to Multan, they found Bahāu-d-dīn established there. It may be noted that Ferīḡhta does not say that Jalālu-d-dīn was at Delhi with Quṭbu-d-dīn. Ferīḡhta also says l. c., p. 742, six lines from foot, that Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā read, when he was twelve years old, with one Maulānā 'Alāu-d-dīn who had received his investiture from Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī, and that in after life he again fell in with this Maulānā and greatly honoured him. The Shaikhu-l-islām Nijāmu-d-dīn Saghrī, too, who according to Abū-l-faḥl and Ilāhī Bakhsh, had a quarrel with Jalālu-d-dīn was, according to Ferīḡhta², a contemporary of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, and was on bad terms

¹ Bombay, Ed. by General Briggs, II., 760, nine lines from foot.

² L. C. 760.

with him. On the other hand, Mr. Blochmann's date of 642 seems too early, as Shihābu-d-dīn, Suhrawardī, the aged preceptor of Jalālu-d-dīn, lived till 632. It is noteworthy that neither Ferishta nor Abū-l-faẓl gives the date of Jalālu-d-dīn's death, and that the latter puts him in his list not only after Bahāu-d-dīn, but after his son and grandson, and also after Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya, who died in 725 A.H.¹ Abū-l-faẓl's list² appears to be in chronological order, so far as the saints of the Suhrawardī order are concerned, beginning with Bahāu-d-din Zakariyā. Of course all difficulties are removed, if we accept Ibn Batutah's statement that Jalālu-d-dīn lived to the age of 150. There can be no doubt, I think, that the Jalālu-d-dīn whom he saw was the Paṇḍuā Jalālu-d-dīn. He told Ibn Batutah that he was in Bagdad when the last of the Abbasides Al Musta'ṣim Billah was killed, and this occurred on 20th February 1258 or 14th Ṣafar 656.³ He must therefore have been at least between 80 and 90 when Ibn Batutah saw him. He describes him as being then very old, but he does not tell us when or where he died. He only says that *afterwards* his disciples told him that he had died at the age of 150. He also says that long after his interview with Jalālu-d-dīn, Barhānu-d-dīn told him in China that the saint was dead. The fullest account of Jalālu-d-dīn that I have seen is in the Siyaru-l-arifin of Ḥamīd Bin Faẓlu-llāh, commonly known as Darvish Jamālī, Brit. Mus., Catalogue, Or., I. 215, p. 354a. But he too, does not give the date of his death.⁴ On the whole I am inclined to think that the date 642 A.H. is wrong. It is possible that Jalālu-d-dīn has been confounded with another saint of Tabrīz named Shams-i-Tabrīz, who according to one account died in 645, and according to another, in 643. Curiously enough, Shams-i-Tabrīz had a pupil—the famous Sufī poet, named Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī—and he took Shams-i-Tabrīz's name as his takhallus or *nom de plume*. Dr. Rieu mentions in his catalogue that Shamsu-d-dīn Tabrīz was the constant companion of Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī from 642 to his death in 645. Jalālu-d-dīn himself died in Iconium in 672 A.H. See the Majālisu-l-'ushshāq, Brit.

¹ Āin Akbarī Text, II., 216.

² Abū-l-faẓl seems to have consulted the Riyāzu-l-auliya of Bakhtāvar Khān, who wrote in the time of Humāyūn. Bakhtāvar's list is also in chronological order.

³ The date is given in Gibbon, &c.

⁴ He calls him Ḥazrat Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn Abū-l-qāsim Tabrīzī, and devotes ten pages to him. The account begins at 183b of Or. 215. Brit. Mus. Catalogue, p. 354a. It is curious that the converted Hindu milk-man of Badāon took the name of 'Alī and wanted to go with Jalālu-d-dīn into Bengal. But I do not suppose he is the man who afterwards became 'Alī Shāh and indeed we are told that the milk-man remained at Badāon and became a great saint there.

Mus. Catalogue, I., 352. *Shams* is No. 25, in the biographies in the *Majālis* and the account begins at p. 82*b*.

The story of how 'Alī Mubārak came to erect the shrine of Jalālu-d-dīn is told in the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, pp. 94 and 95, and also in *Ilāhī Bakḥsh*, pp. 253 to 255. It has been translated by Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII, pp. 252 and 253. The substance of Ghulām Husain's account is as follows :—

'Alī Mubārak, the second of the independent kings of Bengal, was originally a servant of Malik Fīrōz, the nephew of the Emperor Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Taghlaq Shāh, and consequently the cousin of Juna Khān Muḥammad Shāh. When the latter became Emperor (725) he made Malik Fīrōz his Lieutenant-Governor. Hājī Ilyās, the foster brother of 'Alī Mubārak, was "wanted" for some fault which he had committed, and 'Alī Mubārak was called upon to produce him. 'Alī Mubārak could not do so, and reported that he had absconded. Malik Fīrōz blamed him for the disappearance and bade him leave Delhi. 'Alī Mubārak went off towards Bengal, and on the way had an interview with Hazrat Jalālu-d-dīn and implored his assistance. The saint was pleased and said, "We have given you the province of Bengal, but build a shrine for us." 'Alī Mubārak agreed, but asked where he should build it. The saint replied, "In the city of Paṇḍuā, in a place where you will find three bricks, one over the other,¹ and under them a fresh hundred-leaved rose."² When he came to Bengal 'Alī Mubārak entered the service of Qadr Khān, and eventually became his General. Fakhru-d-dīn revolted against Qadr Khān and killed him, but 'Alī Mubārak thereupon assumed the title of Sultan and marching against Fakhru-d-dīn, defeated him and put him to death in requital of his having slain his benefactor. 'Alī Mubārak now struck coins, &c., under the style of 'Alāu-d-dīn, and in the intoxication of prosperity forgot his promise to the saint. The saint now appeared to him in a dream and said "'Alāu-d-dīn, you have become Sultan of Bengal, but you have forgotten my order." Next day search was made and the bricks, &c., were found just as the saint had said. So the shrine was erected there in the very place where its traces now remain.

In the *Riyāz*, the first interview with the saint is said to have taken place *بعالم روبا* and certainly this means in a vision or dream. But if, as the Paṇḍuā story is, Jalālu-d-dīn lived there till 738, the necessity for a miraculous vision does not appear. It seems to me that

¹ Probably what is meant is that the three bricks were set on end and leaning against one another.

² Though *Gul ṣadbarak* means hundred-leaved rose, Dr. King tells me it is the Bussorah or Damascene rose, and not the rose *Rosa centifolia* of Linnæus.

perhaps the words *'alm rōya* may merely mean that 'Alī Mubārak had an interview with the saint, or Ghulām Husain may have made a mistake, or used an incorrect expression, for the Bibliotheca Indica text shows that there is a grammatical error in the passage. The subsequent vision is intelligible, for by that time (741), the saint had left Paṇḍuā. Mr. Blochmann translates here "one night Jalālu-d-dīn *again* appeared to him," but the word *again* is not in the original. If we suppose that there was an actual interview, and that the Shaikhu-l-islām, who turned Jalālu-d-dīn out of Delhi was Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya, the whole story might hang very well together.¹ For it was in the first year of his reign that Muḥammad Shāh appointed Malik Fīrōz as his Naib, and this was just after Nizāmu-d-dīn's death, *viz.*, 725.

Mr. Blochmann has represented the Riyāz as saying that 'Alī Mubārak killed his benefactor Qadr Khān and then killed Fakhrū-d-dīn in revenge for this. But whatever the sentence may mean grammatically, I think that Ghulām Husain meant to say that it was Fakhrū-d-dīn, who killed Qadr Khān, and this is how Ilāhī Bakhsh has understood the passage.

The statement in Abū-l-faẓl that Jalālu-d-dīn's tomb was in the port of Dev Maḥāl puzzled me for a good while. Then I found in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 46, a statement that according to some people, the saint died on one of the Maldives. And I also found Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, XLII., 260, referring to the passage and saying that Bandar Dīn Mahall was either the Maldives or Dīu in Gujarat. Ilāhī Bakhsh's statement that Dev Mehal is in Bengal is evidently merely a guess, and there can be no doubt that the Maldives are the place meant, Dev Mehal being merely a corruption of Mahaldīv, or Mahaldīb, which is the native name for the islands. The Maldives lie south south-west of India and not far from Cape Comorin.

Though we do not find that the name of Jalālu-d-dīn is known there, yet we find that the name of his country is known, and that the natives ascribe their conversion to a saint who came from Tabrīz in Persia. This seems strong confirmation of the story that Jalālu-d-dīn's tomb is in the Maldives.

The following extract from Messrs. Young and Christopher's account of the Maldivian islands will be found interesting. I give it the more readily because the early volumes of the transactions of the

¹ But of course this is opposed to the authorities, and if Jalālu-d-dīn was exceptionally long-lived, as Ibn Batutah says, there is no difficulty in the chronology, and the Shaikhu-l-islam may have been Najmu-d-dīn Saghra. We do not know when this man died, but he is said to have been deposed by Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh. Apparently then Jalālu-d-dīn left Delhi for Badaon and Bengal not later than 633, (1236 for Altamsh died in that year).

Bombay Geographical Society are rather scarce. They are not to be found in the British Museum or the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society,¹ but are in the India Office Library.

Extract from Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.²

“They (the islanders) have a tradition that about 400 years ago, the Muhammadan religion was introduced amongst them by a man whose name was Tabrīz, or whose country was so-called. The probability is, that the latter was the case.

“The tomb of this person, which is pointed out in Malē, is held in great veneration, and always kept in good repair. Some time afterwards, Christians (doubtless the Portuguese) came there, and propagated the tenets of their faith, but they were soon expelled by one of their own chiefs, who belonged to Attol Zilla Don Matee, and who re-established Muhammadanism amongst them, on a secure footing. Tabrīz, they say, came from Persia; and they state that shortly after his death, some of his countrymen, who came in search of him, remained, and when they died, were buried on the south-east point of the island. From the Persians, the islanders learned many songs in the language of that people, which are still sung, although not understood. The tambourine, it was also said, was brought there by them. We visited the graves of the Persians, and counted about sixty, only two of which had inscriptions that were legible, and bearing date 994th year of the Hijra, which would make them 257 years old.³ One of these being in appearance less old than the other graves, it seemed probable that it was not the depository of the remains of any of the first settlers, but of those of one of their descendants. The Fandiarhee⁴ has many Persian manuscripts, but only one could be procured by us.”

Mr. Gray in his translation of the voyage of Pyrrard of Laval has given an abstract of Young and Christopher's account, but he has adopted the faulty date of 1677, and has made some incorrect inferences there-

¹ The volume has since been found in the R. A. S. Library.

² Memoir on the inhabitants of the Maldiva Islands by Lieutenant J. A. Young, and Mr. W. Christopher, I, p. 54.

³ Messrs. Young and Christopher were on the island in 1834-35. Their figures are nearly right, for 994 A. H. is 1586 and 1834-257 corresponds to 1577. Mr. Gray seems inadvertently to have read 157 for 257, for he gives the English date as 1677.

⁴ The Fandiarhee is an officer next in authority to the Sultan, and who shares with him in the respect and veneration of the people. In him are united the two offices of head of the Church and Chief Magistrate. The reverence with which he is regarded, indicates the sincerity in them of the Muhammadan tenets. His decisions as Magistrate are always received with deference, and the natives in general shew that they entertain a high sense of the importance of his duties, particularly that of interpreter of the Koran, he being the only person amongst them who has a competent knowledge of the Arabic for a purpose considered so necessary (p. 70). (Ibn Batutah calls this officer Famaldārī. Perhaps the word comes from *fahm*, intelligence, but it seems more likely that it is a corruption of Faujdār. It may also be 'Āmildār).

from. I, however, quote Pyrard's words: "Some sepulchres they hold sacred, and at them keep many lamps burning continually." To this Mr. Gray adds from Young and Christopher's account: "A remarkable object on the island¹ is a tomb erected over the remains of a person who is regarded by the natives as the most eminent of their saints. The building, which is surmounted by a cupola and a short spire, is thirty feet high; the gate, over which a lantern is placed, is of copper network (T. Bo. Geo. Soc., I, 63)."

Ibn Batutah does not mention Jalālu-d-dīn in connection with the Maldives. According to him, Muhammadanism was introduced into the island by a Muhammadan from Barbary named Abū-l-barkāt, and he tells a romantic and interesting story of how the conversion of the islanders was brought about. He also says that he saw an inscription on a mosque, which stated that the Sultan had embraced Muhammadanism at the hands of Abū-l-barkāt. Ibn Batutah was twice at the Maldives, but both occasions were before he visited Bengal and saw Jalālu-d-dīn. As Jalālu-d-dīn asked him about his travels, it may be that it was Ibn Batutah's account of the Maldives that induced Jalālu-d-dīn to go there. He may, however, have done so simply on his way to Mecca, which it is said he used to visit every year.

There is a curious similarity between Ibn Batutah's narrative about Abū-l-barkāt, and the account of Jalālu-d-dīn's success in the Maldives in the *Siyaru-l-ārifīn*. The latter tells that Jalālu-d-dīn broke down the idol temple, and that one-half of the customs (Bandar) was assigned for the support of his langarkhāna there. Ibn Batutah tells us that *one-third* of the customs (Bandar, which he explains by an Arabic phrase rendered by his French translators *entrepôt de la douane*) is given to travellers in gratitude for Abū-l-barkāt's delivering the island from the power of a demon. It is unfortunate that the exact date when Ibn Batutah visited Bengal is not known. He left Tangiers on 2nd Rajjāb 725 (14th June, 1325) and arrived in Bengal apparently about 741 (1341) when disputes were going on between Fakhr-u-d-dīn and 'Alī Shāh. In all probability the Sadkawan where Ibn Batutah landed is not Chittagong, but Sāt-gāōn, the Jamuna which he refers to being one of the streams into which the Ganges separates at Tribēnī.

Though Ibn Batutah is a confused and credulous writer, yet, I think, it cannot be doubted that he saw a man in Bengal or Assam, who was called Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrīzī. In his account of Delhi, Ibn Batutah says that he devoted himself for five months to the service of a saint named Kamālu-d-dīn 'Abdu-llah Alghārī. Perhaps this is the Kamālu-d-dīn Jaffarī mentioned in the *Siyaru-l-ārifīn* as a friend of Jalālu-d-dīn.

¹ This is Malē or King's island (so called from the residence there of the Sultan). It is the principal atoll or island of the group, and lies at their southern extremity.